

THE PEAK

CRIMINALIZATION OF DISSENT

VOLUME 51 ISSUE 4

It comes as no surprise that police, government and banks will use all the force available to them to shut down movements and groups that threaten their control. Repression is a daily reality for those the state labels deviant. A walk through any courthouse will show you that people of colour, those without status and the poor are systematically policed, criminalized and jailed-- a reality that is only being intensified with the passing of the omnibus crime bill on December 5th and the planned expansion of thirty-six federal prisons.

State repression targets activists and radicals in particular. The trial and conviction of six alleged "co-conspirators" was a concerted effort on the part of the state not just to criminalize its opponents, but to dismantle our networks by isolating our comrades in prison and house arrest, exhaust and dishearten us with legal bills and detention, and most importantly, to intimidate us into silence and inaction.

The good news is that they're not winning. This issue, *the Peak* looks toward the passionate defiance of those who are resisting oppression—and resisting the criminalization of their struggles. In this issue you'll find statements from three G20 defendants who, despite being jailed, remain committed to anarchist struggle (pg. 9); an article from Nyki Kysh which describes her activism and experience in prison (pg. 18); a report from the Mapuche struggle for land and sovereignty against the Chilean state; and interviews with some folks who are facing charges related to the G20 (pg. 38). Our experiences watching our comrades, friends, and lovers go to prison has only changed one thing: it has personalized our contempt for prisons and the world that requires them.

Prisoners to the streets!
Anarchists to the streets!
the Peak

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ANON

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END THE PRISON
INDUSTRIAL
COMPLEX (EPIC)

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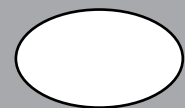


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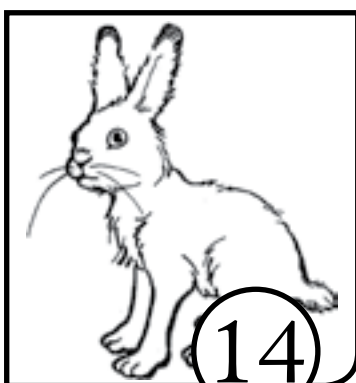
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Starving, Strangling and Shattering Dissent on the Street

by An Uncontrollable

Across the continent incarceration is an emerging commercial enterprise. Unrepentant profit takers like Kevin O’Leary are bullish on the business of incarceration. Don’t be surprised if Conrad Black’s final chapter is a penal empire rather than a publishing empire now that he has seen the business model from the inside. In both Canada and USAmerica, locking people up is a booming business.

In November, writing on the Nation of Change website Cynthia Johnston reported that incarcerating women is a ‘growth industry’ in USAmerica.

In 1980, before the War on Drugs became big business and prison corporations were allowed to regain a toehold, there were 12,300 women incarcerated in the United States. By 2008, that number had grown to 207,700. The rate of increase between 1995 and 2008 alone was a staggering 203%. The 9 million dollars it cost to incarcerate female offenders in 1980 has now ballooned to over 68.7 billion dollars.

Overall, the USAmerican prison population has increased by 500% since 1980. Generously supported by the ‘War on Drugs’, private prisons are keeping the rooms full just like hoteliers in the private sector.

Historically the regimentation and scheduling of the education system has been deconstructed as training for industrial

labour. According to Derailed! The Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track, a detailed study undertaken by the Advancement Project in 2003 USAmerican schools are now in the business of training students to be prisoners.

The report came to three devastating conclusions:

- Criminalizing trivial offences pushes children out of the school system and into the juvenile justice system. Even in cases where punishments are mild, students are less likely to graduate and more likely to end up back in the court system than their peers, and they are saddled with a juvenile or criminal record.
- Turning schools into “secure environments,” with drug-sniffing dogs, metal detectors, and uniformed law enforcement personnel, lowers morale and makes learning more difficult.
- The negative effects of zero tolerance fall disproportionately on children of colour and children with special needs.

Here in Canada, the kryptofascists¹ in the Stever Harper regime are bulling ahead with their ‘Tough on Crime’ agenda despite falling crime rates and a cover story in Maclean’s last year that concluded Canada had too many coppers. Over the next five years the cost of the omnibus crime bill will be almost 80 billion dollar to the federal treasury and untold millions to the provinces that will be constitutionally obliged to incarcerate the victims of minimum sentences and the tough on crime agenda. Quebec’s justice minister Jean-Marc Fournier is against the Conservative Government’s Stever plan, “This bill will cost hundreds of millions over the years just to incarcerate people, not to mention tens of millions in court and legal costs,” he told the National Post. Frighteningly, incarceration is a thriving economic opportunity with a bright future.

Be nervous. Be very, very nervous.

Iron bars of hate might be the most obvious manifestations of repression but the state can stifle dissent without imprisonment. It can discipline and punish without confinement.

Dissent can, and is, repressed by means that reach beyond the penal system into the community, organizations and the psyche of individuals. In Canada dissent is starved, it is isolated and fragmented, and it is infected with paranoia all in the name of community safety and the public interest. These insidious attacks on dissent are a greater threat to community than imprisonment. They threaten to narrowly define the public sphere and undermine fundamental human rights to freedom of association, speech and thought. The parameters of public debate in Canada are shrinking and dissent is being exterminated.

Like malnutrition in humans, financial starvation of dissent has a broad range of impacts on organizations that, eventually lead to death. In March 2011, the Ad Hoc Coalition for Women's Equality and Human Rights published a list of thirty women's organization that the government Stever had defunded ranging, alphabetically, from the Aboriginal Healing Foundation (cuts affected several healing centres that focused on providing support to abused women, such as the Native Women's Shelter of Montreal) to the Women's Innovative Justice Initiative (Nova Scotia) and the Workplace Equity/ Employment Equity Program.

KAIROS (the most widely known human rights ecumenical Christian organization in Canada) is a long established ecumenical, Christian charity – about as square as you can get – but advocacy for the Palestinians resulted in their funding being stopped by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). Two-and-a-half years earlier Jason 'Keep it in the dark' Kenney, then Minister of Immigration, stated that "anti-Zionism is anti-Semitism" and explained the consequences of his reasoning:

"There are organizations in Canada and Britain, that receive their share of media attention and public notoriety, but who at the same time as expressing hateful sentiments, expect to be treated as respectable interlocutors

in the public discourse.... These and other organizations are free within the confines of our law and consistent with our traditions of freedom of expression, to speak their mind, but they should not expect to receive resources from the state, support from taxpayers or any other form of official respect from the government or the organs of our state."

Subsequently, the President of the Canadian Arab Federation (CAF) criticized and insulted Kenney for his remarks and his attack on KAIROS. Surprisingly enough, the CAF soon found itself defunded. A decision that was personal and punitive, while also serving to stifle dissent and express 'official disrespect' for the defunded organizations.

Overall, the message is clear. Feeding the poor is fine, but don't ask why they are poor or advocate for social change that addresses the causes of the problem rather than the symptoms. If you address the roots of the problem or you advocate for the disadvantaged, you forfeit 'resources from the state, support from taxpayers or any other form of official respect from the government or the organs of our state.' Women's advocacy organizations, KAIROS and the CAF are all examples of conscious political decisions to starve dissent. From a Swiftian² perspective starving dissent is more efficacious than incarceration, and only slightly less efficient than consuming dissenters in a modest, soylent green sort of a Chuck Heston, 'from my cold, dead hands' way.

This development also reveals the inherent contradiction in government funded dissent. The funding amounts to a leash, a leash that the current government is tightening, while it adds a choke chain to the organizations' necks. If the government giveth, the government can, and will, take away. Government funded dissent is always constrained, simply even more so under the current regime.

Dissent that cannot be starved by deprivation of state funding is isolated,

¹ A crypto-fascist is a 'hidden' supporter of fascism. It is only truly applicable to individuals, as by definition a mass movement of crypto-fascism ceases to be cryptological. That is to say, a crypto-fascist has ideologically totalitarian views, but has not yet found a movement which sufficiently reflects these views, and thus remains 'hidden'.

² Jonathan Swift, author of the famous "A Modest Proposal" an essay that proposed Irish famine and overpopulation be simultaneously solved by encouraging the Irish to cook and eat their children.

fragmented and sequestered. All of this is accomplished while the victims remain, ostensibly, at liberty.

Consider the anachronistic expression, 'keep the peace and be of good behaviour', a common phrase in bail conditions, probation orders and other release documents. In popular parlance that legalism can be conveniently paraphrased as, the coppers have you by the short and curlies. In practical terms it means go directly to jail and we'll sort it out in a few months when you finally get in front of a judge. The courts define being with anyone who commits an offence as a violation of 'good behaviour.' At an event, happening or action where one person is arrested, you could be sent to jail simply for being there. If you were riding in a car with someone who has some weed, the car gets stopped, they get popped and probably released, you go directly to jail even if you had no knowledge that they had contraband. Freedom is an illusion with the threat of 'keep the peace and be of good behaviour' hanging over your head.

Other specific conditions further disrupt the lives of the ostensibly free once the criminal justice system gets its hands on them. Often conditions relating to non-association with specific individuals are imposed. If that person is a close friend, partner or spouse is irrelevant. If they are affiliated with causes or organizations that you are also involved with you cannot attend meetings, actions or events that they also attend. If you live with them, one of you has to move. Non-association clauses isolate dissenters and disrupt organization and action without the need to incarcerate the victim.

Bail conditions frequently require the individual on bail to reside with their surety (the person that provided the collateral for their bail and agrees to monitor the individual on bail). This seemingly straightforward requirement can impose extraordinary constraints on the victim. If you live in Guelph and your surety lives in Ottawa or Nova Scotia you suddenly find yourself forced to leave your community and friends and lead an isolated life in a

new community. Bail conditions are used to fragment dissent and isolate dissenters when the state cannot justify immediately incarcerating them.

Finally, the potentially most damaging extra-penal method of destroying dissent – infiltration. A local activist summed up the impact of infiltration in the wake of revelations that undercover OPP officers Brenda Carey and Bindo Showan had operated here in Guelph's anarchist/activist communities for approximately eighteen months: "It was really upsetting and infuriating, and I remember feeling isolated and not able to trust people. That is part of the point of infiltration ... creating this sort of fear and paralysis." Clearly, infiltration has intelligence gathering value. Whether it is worth the cost is an entirely separate issue.³

Most importantly in terms of repression, infiltration intentionally destroys community by undermining trust. I began to The question, 'If that friendly, kinda punky looking woman or that guy with the name of a famous African American activist were infiltrators, who else might be one?' inevitably arises. 'What did I tell her in personal or political terms and did I tell her too much?' is the second question that occurs. Infiltration imposes these interrogatives on dissenters and in doing so undermines trust, hope and community, isolating individual dissenters psychically.

'Be nervous. Be very, very nervous', is the mind-fuck infiltration implants. The forces of repression infiltrate in search of information but primarily, it is a psy op to destroy community and emotionally isolate individuals.

Dissent that relies on state funding is being starved. Dissenters enmeshed in the web of coppers and criminal courts are strangled with restrictions on their liberty. Communities targeted for state infiltration are shattered by waves of fear and individuals are stressed, even destroyed, by the isolation and paranoia that infiltration is designed to leave in its wake.

Be nervous. Be very, very nervous.

3 Billions of dollars and hundreds of arrests for six convictions in the case of the G20.

ILLUSTRATION: LYNND WARD



Leah Henderson's Statement to the Courts

Below you will find the statement that I read to the court, followed by a letter to my community.

STATEMENT READ IN COURT AT SENTENCING HEARING:

All you need to know about me is that I am a person of conscience, I came to this situation from a place of morality within myself, and I am a member of a community that shares that morality and a powerful vision for a future that is truly free.

I stand here guilty of breaking your laws, not the laws of justice.

The court has been told, “this prosecution is not political”, and that this has been done to protect society from danger.

The truth is this entire prosecution is born from the politics of fear. Fear of our ideas, fear of what we represent:

Freedom.

A Freedom that your jails will not confine.

I am not here for approval.

I am here because this is what stands for justice on this colonized land.

Though I stand here being judged by you, I am accountable to more, that is beyond these walls.

I am accountable to the indigenous communities whose lands we are on. To the earth who we’re daily assaulting with saws, and chemicals. To the elders in my life and to the generations yet to come.

The laws that govern our societies are not laws of community, or laws of

consensus, they are laws of oppression. Laws that underpay and overwork mothers. That deport the poor and those of colour. Laws that rob Indigenous Nations of their traditions, their land, their childhoods. Laws that blame the unemployed and rewards those that get rich on their backs.

I have been deeply and profoundly affected by this process, but have not been changed by it. I have been moved by the incredible support that I have received, far beyond what I could have imagined. It has been made more clear to me through this process that this vision for the future is part of a groundswell.

I want to say thank you to everyone that has supported me, thank you to my friends, my family and my lawyer.

I submit to your jails because today you hold many of the weapons, and many people under your spell. A day is coming when that will not be so.

A day is coming where the distorted mirror that hides the lies of capitalism and colonialism will shatter.

Sometimes a cupcake, is just a cupcake.¹

A LETTER TO MY COMMUNITY:

As most of you probably know by now, I have decided to plead guilty to the charge of counseling to commit mischief. Originally, I along with twenty others was charged with four counts of conspiracy in what was called the G20 main conspiracy group.

I am writing because the past year and a half of facing these charges and living under bail conditions has meant that I have not been able to talk as openly as I would have liked. My voice has been muzzled by the state, which has served as a powerful reminder of the many voices that are muzzled by the daily colonialism, patriarchy, racism and violence of the world. While the silencing of my voice has an end date, the work to hear the chorus of our grandmothers and the

“I submit to your jails because today you hold many of the weapons, and many people under your spell. A day is coming when that will not be so.”

¹ Police alleged that conversations about “cupcakes” in some Southern Ontario Anarchist Resistance (SOAR) Meetings were referring to molotov cocktails.

Indigenous Peoples whose land we stand on is ongoing.

I never considered that the people in power would see me, my community and our values as anything other than a threat because we are a threat. We are working to tear this system down and to make space for life-centered systems that make the one percent irrelevant. Those who benefit from the status-quo have always tried to crush that.

I want to tell you that I was arrested because I am seen as a threat. I want to tell you that you might be too. I want to tell you that this is something we need to prepare for. I want to tell you that the risk of incarceration alone should not determine our organizing.

My skills and experience as a facilitator, as a trainer, as a legal professional and as someone linking different communities and movements were all targeted in this case, with the state trying to depict me as a “brainwasher” and as a mastermind of mayhem, violence and destruction. During the week of the G8 & G20 summits, the police targeted legal observers, street medics and independent media. It is clear that the skills that make us strong, the alternatives that reduce our reliance on their systems and prefigure a new world, are the very things that they are most afraid of.

I organize openly as an anti-colonial, anti-capitalist anarchist. My organizing is focused on movement building, and this commitment to build skill sets and support other activists is another part of why the state has targeted me. However, this attempt to deter me has failed, just as it has failed to deter thousands of others similarly facing police brutality and jail. I am strengthened in my resolve to build communities of resistance. We are building the structures of a new kind of society in the midst of the old, and we cannot do that without a commitment to skill-sharing, mutual aid and collective liberation.

Since the G8 & G20 protests, Toronto (and beyond) has witnessed

a wave of repression that has seen the justice system trap people and their communities in its jaws, using all of their time and energy to survive the resource-intensive and soul-sucking legal process. The state hoped that there would be no energy left to fight against them as they cut funding to essential services, ignored self-determination, and further criminalized poor people, migrants and people of colour.

They were wrong.

The awe-inspiring and humbling surprise in all of this is that we have refused to be crushed and, in fact, we have grown in strategy, strength and numbers: in Toronto, I’ve seen the anti-austerity movements grow with campaigns like “Stop the Cuts”; in Grassy Narrows, one day of powerful mobilization forced the government to listen to the community’s demands; globally, there has been a continued, intensified uprising that is showing collective dissatisfaction with the capitalist system and austerity agenda that the G8 & G20 perpetuate.

I took this plea willingly. I consented today to confine myself to a cage, away from the people, work and struggles that I am connected to. I did this for a reason.

As a group of accused, we come to organizing with different access to power. When the seventeen of us found ourselves around a table facing a trial, continued disruption of our lives and livelihoods, possible convictions, jail sentences and deportations, it became essential that some of us plead guilty to ensure that the rest walk free.

It was a decision that could not be and was not taken lightly. I was inspired, along with the rest of the seventeen, by a proud history of political trials, where people have chosen to plead guilty to end the legal process? if it resulted in the best possible deal for all involved.

This plea is not a defeat. I am energized. I am hopeful knowing that we have each other’s back and will take care of each

other, even if it means that some of us go to jail. I am proud. I hope you are too.

I am incredibly grateful for the people in my life who have been supporting me and who will continue to do so.

To the women who have carried me through this you are my faeries with magick wands and combat boots; you've granted me wishes and kicked the crap out of anything I couldn't handle. Your care and support is revolutionary. May it become less invisible to the world.

To my family every day I am grateful for your unconditional love and support; that I chose you when I came into this world is perhaps the greatest gift I have given to myself.

To my community you have grown and expanded with me since my arrest; this growth is a testament to our strength.

To my sureties you took me out into the world when no one else could; you housed me, sat on absurdly uncomfortable court benches while pregnant and while waiting to see if your own child would be released from custody.

To the assistants, receptionists, lawyers, and legal workers that represented us thank you for your dedication and commitment.

To my friends that stayed in to keep me company, moved me, brought me comfort and, most importantly, helped me to laugh and cry and rage-craft through this I hope that I can give half as much to you as I have received.

To my co-evils (otherwise known as co-accused):

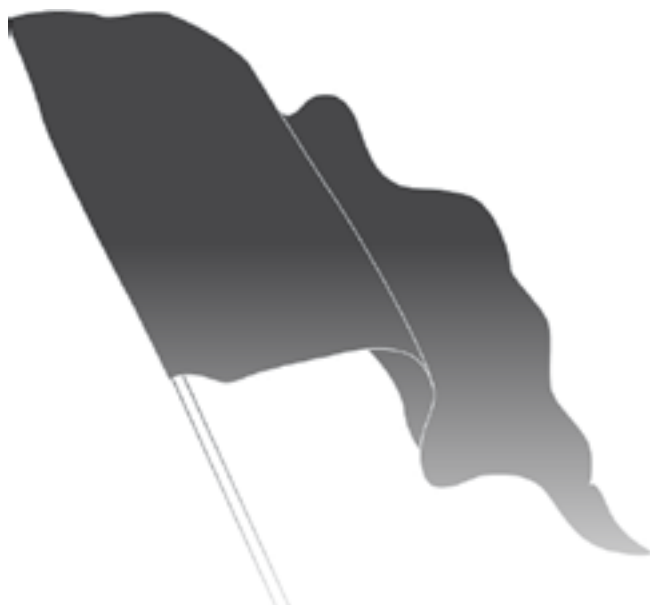
"While I can't have you, I long for you... I spin worlds where we could be together. I dream you." –
Jeannette Winterson

I've missed you, friends. After all this time, my heart still beats as one with yours. But things have changed, we have grown, my heartbeat sounds different I'm sure yours does too. Since we became wrapped up in this together, I have carried

you with me everywhere I go. I'm excited to begin new relationships with you that don't have the state stuck in between us. Thank you for all that you have been through this process: fierce, vulnerable, honest, inspiring, loving, strong, and deeply committed to working collectively, challenging oppression and building communities of resistance.

There is a complex combination of rage and inspiration that this experience has given me that cannot be summed up in one statement, let alone a lifetime of statements, but moving forward, I am energized and filled with hope that we will continue to struggle together in creative, supportive and inspiring ways. I would say see you in the streets, but if you know me, you know that I'm more excited to see you in a meeting.

*With love, rage and solidarity,
Leah*



Please write to me! If you don't know what to write, send me a copy of your favourite poem(s), recipes, you really like or short stories.

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The Forestry Industry in Wallmapu

By País Mapuche

December 2011

From the early military invasion of Mapuche indigenous Territory, the forestry industry has been the most dreadful face of this ongoing occupation, which has been historically resisted by indigenous communities confronting the massive force of the Chilean state that protects this plunder.

During the month of November in the southern Chilean city of Concepcion, EXPOCORMA 2011 was carried out; an international fair that intends to show the benefits of the logging/forestry industry, as well as generate billions of dollars worth of trade by concentrating the presence of related industry executives from across the

**The Women's Coordinating
Committee for a Free
Wallmapu [Toronto]**

world...However, for the Mapuche, these forestry industries represent the most dreadful face of capitalism. They are the most graphic expression of today's occupation of the Mapuche Nation, as these companies are the land owners of the vast majority of lands on our territory. Only two companies, Bosques Arauco of the Angelini Group and CMPC of the Matte Group hold consist of more than twice the number of hectares than all Mapuche People combined. In this way, most of the resources that are produced through the forestry industry in so-called Chile have been stolen from our territory.

Therefore, to talk about the forestry industry is to speak of theft, reduction and genocide- it is the plunder of Wallmapu.

FRAUD

The immense expansion of the forestry industry has its root in the Chilean military dictatorship, where land rights were sold to the companies Bosques Arauco and Forestal Crecex (today Forestal Mininco), previously in the hands of peasant and Mapuche communities that had been established during the presidency of Salvador Allende, in what was known as the "Agrarian Reform."

The Dictatorship would then impose a counter-reform in displacing these peasant and Mapuche communities by the simultaneous expropriation and selling

off of lands to the forestry industry at an extremely low price. Many were simply scapegoats used in this theft of land, where private buyers would sell their lands to the various forestry companies as soon as they were bought.

On the other hand, after dividing the commons into the private sector, many small home buyers (Chilean and Mapuche alike) began to establish themselves in the territory, with complicity and support of state institutions. These would then acquire huge amounts of debt and soon after have to sell their properties to the highest bidder. As if this was not enough, Decree 701 was passed in 1974, which even today allows for state subsidization of logging production. It was advertised as a Bill that would benefit the peasantry and create incentive within the forestry industry, but in practice, it was destined to support big business to get established on Mapuche territory.

DIRECT THEFT

As the years passed on, the old practice of buying lands from a single person that could accumulate private property and at the same time expelling expelling any and all families that stood in their way became custom.

As if this was not enough, they would use any manoeuvre that would help them keep their power using Chilean legislation, repression, and even death against Mapuche resistance.

RECEPTION OF STOLEN GOODS

The reception of stolen goods is essentially what the forestry companies manage, since the land they operate on is stolen land has been stolen to this day.

The totality of logging/forestry property in Wallmapu has been established on stolen land, as private property in our territories is not legitimate. We can just remember the military invasion of the Chilean and Argentinean states and subsequent occupation of our territories for the sole reason of taking the best lands



and resources of our Mapuche Nation. War was not declared, nor was there any legal, constitution recourse imposed on behalf of the invading states. It was therefore robbery and thereby all those that took over our territories in this way, just as those that acquired it through these means are criminal institutions.

THEFT CONTINUES TODAY

Theft continues, grows and is reinforced, since forestry trade is part of an extractive economic industry, which does not create any wealth in the region in which it operates – not even in the townships of surrounding areas.

The statistics point out staggering poverty levels and low quality of life in the region in both Chilean and Mapuche populations within the provinces of Arauco and Malleco, where the forestry industry has been operating for decades.

The total sales of the forestry sector amounted to five billion dollars in 2009, where profits have increased substantially in 2011.

THE BUSINESS OF DEVASTATION AND CONTAMINATION:

The environmental impact of the forestry industry is incalculable, since it does not only displace the native forest but also consumes and dries subterranean waterways, brooks and any source of water generally. Those that remain are either contaminated by periodical fumigations or by the forestry plantations themselves.

These plantations are devastating to the Mapuche for various reasons. Natural medicine is dying, there is no water, sacred spaces and forces of the earth are not respected – not to mention the loss of care, possession and sovereignty of the territory – which generates serious consequences. In summary, the balance of Mapuche life is disrupted and is making us disappear as a people.

ANTI-SOCIAL BUSINESS

The forestry sector is highly concentrated in a few hands and businesses that operate in Wallmapu, which are part of the most powerful interest groups in Chile and the continent. This effect is seen ever more clearly given the dynamic of the highly extractive industry.

Besides the Matte and Angelini Groups that operate in Wallmapu, there are also transnational corporations, such as the Japanese Mitsubishi, the American Simpson Paper and New Zealand's Terranova of New Zealand, among others.

WOOD TAINTED IN BLOOD

The conflict that the Mapuche Nation confronts with its occupiers, the forestry companies and Chilean large landed estate owners, have counted on the support of the state, where various brothers have been murdered at the hands of repressive police forces that are used as guard dogs of these thieves.

Among some of the most emblematic cases is that of our Peñi [brother] Alex Lemun (seventeen years old), who was shot by a Chilean police officer while participating in a land reclamation protest within a Bosques Arauco estate in 2002, where exotic pines were being planted metres away from his home.

In January of 2008, twenty-two year old Matias Catrileo died from a shot to the back by police, when protesting and entering the Jorge Luchsinger estate together with other Mapuche community members in the area of Vilcún. The Chilean state had brought the Luchsinger family all the way from Switzerland to establish them in the heart of Wallmapu, in a small property, which later extended to become one of the major land lords and profiteers of theft from Mapuche lands in the region.

In August 2009, Jaime Mendoza Collio was also shot by police in a demonstration by various communities in the estate of San Sebastian, within the same area of

conflict where Alex Lemun was murdered years beforehand.

We should also remember the death of Zenen Diaz Necul, a sixteen-year-old boy who was murdered by a truck driver who ran him over intentionally while protesting at a barricade in a viaduct in the area of Malleco. This crime was never investigated, while in the previous three cases, the murders had been formally convicted to be later promoted and transferred.

Others have died under mysterious circumstances that have never been cleared up, others have just narrowly escaped being murdered by the police or by paramilitary groups that operate in Wallmapu, zealous keepers of the forestry industry.

It is a paradox that the Mapuche are the ones called terrorists while there has not been a single death on behalf of our people in this conflict. Even more ironic is that our murderers have never once had a death on their side, which brings us to question where the label of “terrorist” comes from.

WHAT IS THE STRUGGLE FOR WHICH WE ARE BEING MURDERED?

The Mapuche Nation is recognized for its millennial struggle in defence of their territory. They managed to stop the advancement of the Inca Empire, and for almost 300 years managed to fend off Spanish imperialism, and would later suffer the invasion of the Chilean and Argentinean states in Wallmapu; an occupation under which they have never stopped struggling for the reclamation of asserted political rights and territorial sovereignty.

It is in this context that current martyrs have been murdered. It is that same struggle for which Alex, Matias, Jaime, Zenen and others have died for in defence of their territory and Mapuche sovereignty.

The occupation of our territories has been so profitable that they do not hesitate in becoming murderers.

www.wccctoronto.wordpress.com



Is there a prison profit?

By End the Prison Industrial Complex (EPIC)

Prison abolitionists have an opportunity NOW to actually stop the construction of new super prisons across Canada. This text is not an analysis of the prison industrial complex but a practical guide intended to expose the companies and corporations involved in the design and construction of these new super prisons in Ontario. This information is intended to inform regional struggles against prison construction. We support the use of a diversity of tactics. These companies and their owners, the lobbyists and politicians involved in this construction should be exposed, held accountable and stopped as they are responsible for this massive expansion of the Canadian prison-industrial complex.

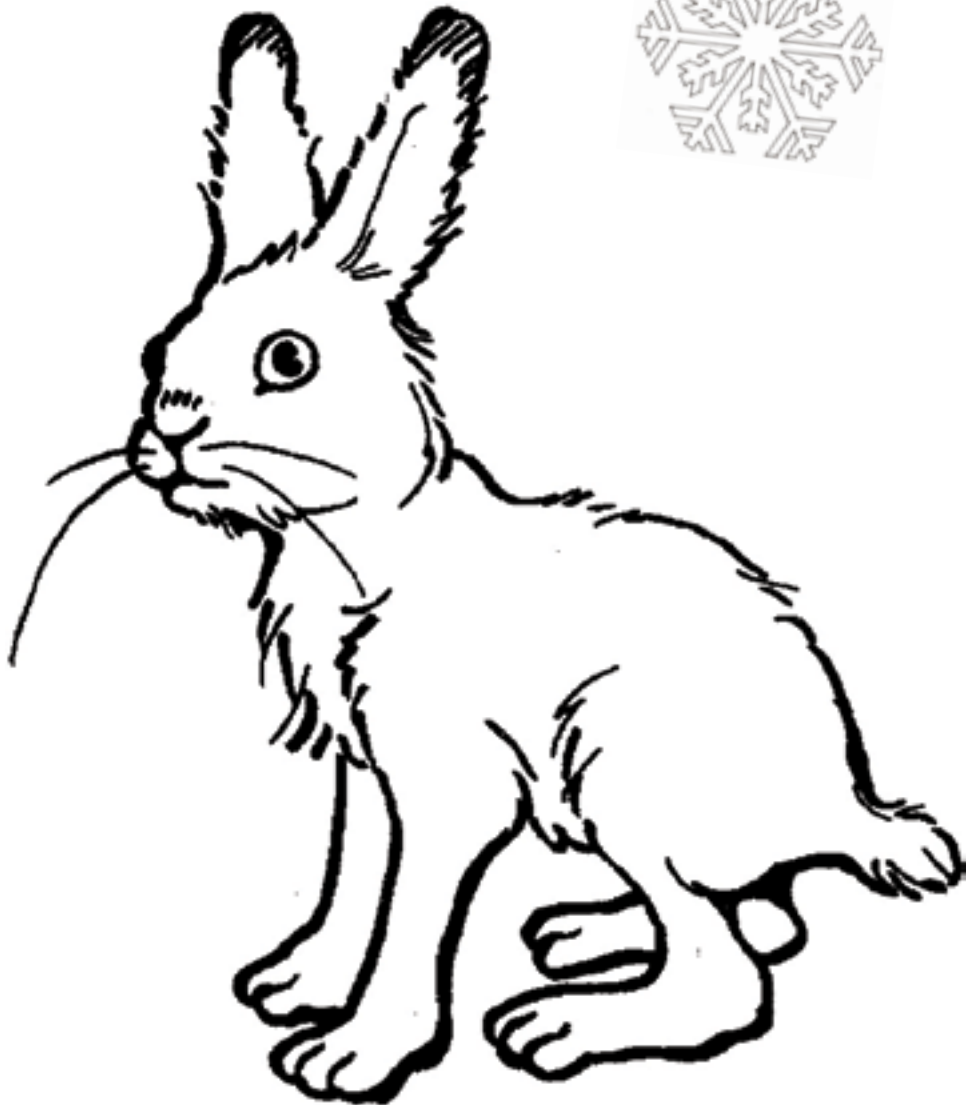
PRISON PROFITEERS INDEX

Basterfield & Assoc Ltd. - 416 Chambers St., Peterborough
Bondfield Construction Co. Ltd - 407 Basaltic Rd., Concord
Canadian Tech Air Systems Inc. - 237 Finchdene Sq. Unit 3, Toronto
Cleland Jardine Engineering Ltd. - 580 Terry Fox Dr., Suite 200, Kanata
Cole & Assoc. Architects Ltd. - 1327A Wellington St., Ottawa
Elite Construction Inc. - 35 Romina Dr., Suite 100, Concord
EXP Services Inc. - 56 Queen St. E, Suite 301, Brampton
Fancom Connects Inc. - 92 Lakeshore Rd, East Suite 226, Mississauga
Genivar Inc. - 1600 Rene-Levesque West Blvd., Montreal, QC
H.H.Angus & Assoc. Ltd. - 1127 Leslie St., Toronto
Halsall Assoc. Ltd., - 2300 Yonge St., Toronto
Kirkland Engineering Ltd. - 294 Rink St., Peterborough
Lobo Consulting Services Ltd. - 5995 Avebury Rd., Suite 902, Mississauga
Norr Ltd. - 20 Gore St., Suite #101, Kingston (Ottawa office as well)
Parkin Architects Ltd. - 1 Valleybrook Dr., Toronto
Peninsula Construction Inc. - 2055 Kottmeirer Rd., Fonthill, ON
Quad Pro Construction Inc. - 80 West Beaver Creek Rd., Unit 1, Richmond Hill, ON
S.A. Sutcliffe Excavating Ltd., - 804 Hwy 7A, Bethany, ON
WGD Architects Inc. - 250 The Esplanade, Suite 302, Toronto

*For an up-to-date listing of regional profiteers, see:
www.endthepic.wordpress.com/profiteers*

Peter Hopperton's Statement to the Court

read to the court on November 25Th 2011



I have pled guilty to co-writing a callout entitled, *Get off the Fence – a call to go beyond*. It was a letter to the many passionate people across the country who share our values of equality, free co-operation, and solidarity with people in struggle, inviting them to participate in a march. In this letter, we posed some questions, and now, a year and a half after the G20, I feel drawn to reflect on them again.

We wrote, “Will we accept that the elites take away our city and give us back a tiny scrap in which to exercise our freedom? Will we be content to wave a banner, listen to a speech, and go home believing that our voices have been heard?”

This question has been answered in a thousand ways since the day of my arrest, in millions of voices both here and around the world. They have answered ‘No, we will not be content with empty gestures. While I was on house arrest, I spent a lot of time reading the news, watching the way the austerity policies advanced at the Toronto G20 lead to massive resistance in France, then in England, then South Korea, Spain, Italy, and Greece.

Like many around the world, I was riveted as the people of Egypt and Tunisia rose up to overthrow their governments, and I watched them inspire the people of Wisconsin, then people all across the United States to take back space and make for themselves the decisions that affect their communities.

When we wrote, “We will take back our city from these exploitative profiteers, and in the streets we will be uncontrollable,”

many chose to hear only a call to chaos and destruction. But to hear only this is to miss something important. The larger significance of this feeling is more in line with the question posed by the freedom fighters of Tahrir Square: Once the streets

are controlled by the people, what next? In Cairo, they organized neighbourhood assemblies to protect their communities and feed their residents; they gathered freely to discuss, to make proposals, and ultimately, to offer some compelling alternatives to the system they had previously lived under.

It is the same question the occupy movement asked in Oakland and New York City once they were in control of the squares there: once we have taken back this space, how do we go about creating freedom? It is a question powerfully answered by the people of Grassy Narrows and KI, who, in a struggle that is often life-or-death, managed to take back land from exploitative profiteers while nourishing their cultures and communities.

These are just some of the people and communities who, while I was on house arrest, were not content to just go home. They refused to settle for scraps of freedom.

Locally, many people made the same choice. In Toronto, it has looked like challenging the manufactured budget crisis at City Hall that is being used to further attack the most marginalized people of this city. In my city of Hamilton, people are organizing together to confront bad bosses and landlords, to monitor the police in our neighbourhoods, and to maintain community education projects.

In my life, it looked like the outpouring of support and generosity that came as the exuberant mobilization against the G20 flowed into a long-term commitment

to supporting its prisoners.

The prosecution that led to my conviction was deeply political from the beginning, and so I believe it’s important to emphasize the wider story of movements for social transformation of

“I have pled guilty to co-writing a callout entitled, *Get off the Fence – a call to go beyond*.”

“Even as this prosecution draws to a close, the truly important stories are ongoing, playing out among allies in liberated spaces everywhere, and in the hearts of my family and the people who care about me.”

this past year and a half. My going to jail is just one small part of this overwhelming current. But there is a personal level to this too. Because of this political prosecution and this political conviction, I may never see my Grandfather again. He is an American who lives in Florida, he fought in the second world war

and is now ninety-five years old and can't travel himself. Up until these charges, I visited him at least once a year, but now it is at best uncertain if I will be able to cross the border again.

The pain of being separated from our loved ones by borders is felt by an increasing number of people as the federal government moves to further restrict immigration. In this context, my situation is not extraordinary. But when telling the story of the G20 Main Conspiracy prosecution though, I want to remember the perspective of a ninety-five year old veteran who is missing his grandson. I want to honour all the walks we won't be taking, and all stories that I now will not hear.

I am going to jail today. I have plead guilty and do not contest this. But I remember that whatever happens in the court is not the most important story. Even as this prosecution draws to a close, the truly important stories are ongoing, playing out among allies in liberated spaces everywhere, and in the hearts of my family and the people who care about me. It is those stories I will carry with me as I leave the courtroom today.

It has now been almost a year and a half since the mobilization against the G20 in Toronto that witnessed the largest mass arrest in Canadian history. A one billion dollar security operation caged over 1100 people over the course of a weekend in order to defend a meeting of the bureaucrats from the richest capitalist economies. A group of individuals, many using the black bloc tactic (wearing masks and black clothing), nonetheless broke this militarized social peace; a peace that exists to keep us obedient and passive so that capital can flow smoothly. The large breakaway demonstration attacked corporate property and the police, liberating space from the control of authority and targeting places of capital for destruction. What more human response could there be to a financial districtian urban space devoid of life, deprived of affordable rents, scoured of autonomous livelihoods, subordinated to the needs of traffic and commerce, held under the eye of surveillance cameras, occupied by police, and plagued with corporate outlets and banks than to destroy it?

The day before the demonstration, twenty organizers were rounded up and charged with criminal conspiracy for planning the disruption of the summit. This vague charge is increasingly being used against anarchists and is essentially used for 'thought crime'. After over a year of non-association conditions, pre-trial detention, house arrest, and a publication ban, six people took a plea deal to lesser charges in which the rest of their co-accused charges were dropped in November 2011. Mandy Hiscocks, Alex Hundert and Leah Henderson are expecting sentences between ten and sixteen months. Peter Hopperton, Erik Lankin, and Adam Lewis are currently serving jail sentences of three to five and a half months. Others face prison time for alleged participation in the riot.

Innocence and guilt mean nothing to those who understand law as a structure

that does not keep us safe, but that keeps us in line. In the words of the conspiracy defendants, "There is no victory in the courts...The legal system exists to protect Canada's colonial and capitalist social structure." To consider questions of guilt or innocence is to indulge in all the hypocrisy of a judge, a prosecutor, or a cop. It doesn't matter that most of these people were already arrested when the property destruction occurred, and it doesn't matter that they didn't lead any conspiracies because anarchists don't have leaders. What matters is that when all those workers died, when all those people were evicted, when all that money was taken from us by the banks, when all those bombs fell, when all that air and water were poisoned, it didn't matter whether rules were broken or followed. To speak of rules and laws is to perpetuate one of the greatest lies of our society.

Repression is the inevitable consequence of living under capital and the State, whether in a democracy or dictatorship, because few are fully blind to the domination around them and many are willing to fight back against it. To combat this social unrest, the State responds with repression. Many systems of oppression target various identities daily for being a potential enemy to the social order; whether colonized, genderqueer, or not white, to name a few. Imprisonment is structured to perfect control over anybody who's locked up, and manifests itself outside its walls as a threat towards those whose privileges don't fool them into identifying with power. Repression tries to prevent us from making the all-too-sensible decision to revolt against the systems that destroy our lives and future.

The new omnibus 'tough on crime' bill is an intensification of social control, as is the federal prison expansion that will see expansions at thirty-six federal prisons between now and 2014, along with provincial prison expansions in every province. Correctional Services Canada will be the largest building

contractor by 2012. The Montreal police even have a new 'anti-gang' police squad, GAMMA, dedicated to the surveillance and repression of anarchists and other 'marginal movements'.

Prison is the concrete intensification of the alienation, isolation, and exploitation that surrounds us in our daily lives. With a desire for freedom comes the simple realization that prisons, and the world that needs them, must be attacked with revolutionary intentions. The urgency for rebellion makes itself even clearer when the State is tightening its grip on our throats in times of austerity.

As anarchists, we understand solidarity as lying in action. When we act we expand our own freedom as well. When the State takes anarchists and other rebels captive in its cages of democracy, revolutionary solidarity involves continuing the struggle that they are imprisoned for. Solidarity with prisoners in struggle should not be due to debt or sacrifice, but because our own liberation is intrinsically tied with their liberation and the destruction of prison. By actively pushing their struggles forward outside the prison walls, our solidarity ensures that the State's attempts to intimidate and control us are only met with escalated resistance. Our struggles against the State and capital must grow into a force that their cages cannot contain.

Let's lose our fear, and spread rebellion against authority.

Prisoners to the streets!

For more info:

conspiretoresist.wordpress.com

sabotagemedia.anarkhia.org

guelphabc.noblogs.org



Solidarity and Complicity with the G20 Prisoners! by anonymous

Leaflets of this text and a Banner were dropped in solidarity with G20 prisoners in Montreal

An Abolitionist in Prison

*How Living by My Values Got Me
Framed for Murder*



by Nyki Kish

How dangerous the life I led was to them, and how foolish I was for believing they would allow it. A rejection of the state of society, for five years I led a life in the fringes. A life in squats, in forests, on beaches, in buses and communes; shopping from dumpsters, growing food, driving on grease, riding trains, doing demos, tree-sits, volunteering, and denying any substantial contribution from my capable self to the capitalist system I abhor; I wore a uniform of dissent.

I was labeled many things, from hippie to autonomist, vagrant to punk, and in hindsight, I was all of them. Officially, I denied them all, believing society ought not have the right to package who I am and what I believe into a word, an 'ism' or an 'ist' to be distorted and manipulated. I rejected even the term activist, as to be an activist implied an option to not be. Everyday was a protest, of private property, materialism and inequality, and a celebration of the sub-culture I was member of. Both my duty, and the only life I knew how to lead capable of satisfying my morals and values, there was no coherent option for me to support the main ranks of this hierarchical society whose dominant values I find criminal. Non-compliance coupled with the promotion of radical change through the growth of sub-culture was my past, and I loved it. When warned, as I often was, of how I was marginalizing myself, and of the dangers in doing so, I protested that whatever treatment I received by society, kind or cruel, was only an example of the state of its health, and that I would take it as it came. Well take it I did, an example I now am, though the force with which it came tests my strength everyday.

Though the facts and details of the state's corruption and the abuse I have suffered by its hand are harrowing in themselves, for the benefit of this perspective I will only summarize, as the larger question of why things happened as they did deserves attention.

In short, I was used; my freedom stolen and identity manipulated, no- mutilated, to form the means to the very corrupt political ends I lived against. I was framed with a murder that I very clearly and demonstrably did not commit, in the case cited (before it was tried!) to prompt the enforcing of legislation that outright criminalized panhandling, under the safe streets act.

The highly publicized, sensational story police and media doled out was that I, (a local panhandler) stabbed a tourist to death because of a denial of a request for money. I was labeled the 'panhandler killer' nearly instantly, and by global media, literally from here in Ontario to Malaysia.

Unfortunately for the police and media alike, their claims held no truth. Yet with the long pushed agenda of criminalizing homelessness now justifiable, the 'panhandler killer' had to exist. Not one party thought to consider the validity of their bold claims, and especially pertaining to police (and eventually prosecutors) – not even when strong evidence began surfacing to the contrary.

And why? How could several separate human beings rationalize the persecution of a person very obviously innocent? This question has grayed more hair on my head than the process its self, and ultimately, only one sad conclusion holds logic.

By my appearance and by my lifestyle.

My difference negated any compassion I may have otherwise garnered had I been considered the young woman I was. Instead my dreadlocks, piercings, tattoos and pack evoked a dissociated mentality in them about me, plainly that I was guilty in

I rejected even the term activist, as to be an activist implied an option to not be. Everyday was a protest, of private property, materialism and inequality, and a celebration of the sub-culture I was member to.



**“For as long
as I have been
opposed to
anything, the
institution of
prison has been
high on my list.”**

anyway;
if not of
murder, then of
being no good. Lead
detective Gary Giroux often
and openly referred to my company and
I as ‘those people’ in the early stages of
the case. Yet Giroux is far from alone in
this fault.

Hatred is the product of ignorance and
historically the rebellious, the opposers’
of blind authority, and seekers of change

have always been
subject to be ostracized
and criminalized (both
openly and under many
masks of unrelated
reasons). For threatened
by what many
personalize, people view
a rebellion against parts
or portions of society as
rebellion against them
personally. By this and
along side such social
conditions as judgment, hierarchy and
stereotyping, disregard, dissociation and
hatred are easily fostered. Intentional
abuses then become more easily

rationalized and as abusers disregard the
humanity of others, they begin to do so
under the distorted perception that it is
acceptable. Acceptable in defence of ‘their’
society, and especially acceptable when
there is a substantial gain or profitable
end to justify their means (abuse).
Needless to say, in the circumstances in
which my radical life met their corrupt
but powerful political influence and
agenda, their ends did (to them)
justify their means, even though their
means involved utterly destroying my
life and manipulating the investigation
of someone’s death to an irreparable
extent.

In hindsight, I stood no chance.
The facts were clear; the evidence was
exculpatory. But evidence was ignored,
altered, and a substantial portion was
destroyed, and after three and a half years
on house arrest, by judge alone trial I was
convicted of murder and sentenced to life.
In his verdict, the man who embodies the
patriarchy in society that I am against
voiced his distaste for people like me,
though in an attempt to mask his claim
under the fallacies by which he convicted
me. He declared with a sneer that in the
name of degradation I ought to serve
more than the standard time. That I was
not a rebel, but a danger, and that society
needs to rid its self of such people. And
just as healers and midwives past heard
‘witch!’ as they met their flames of hatred,
so did I as I met mine. But to rebel is not
to be dangerous (physically); just as to be
hurt is not to hurt. Yet to descend from
the norm, to reject all this madness is
and always has been a sentence, though
a worthy one to bare.

For as long as I have been opposed to
anything, the institution of prison has
been high on my list. Now, an abolitionist
imprisoned, and wrongfully, I have joined
the long held tradition of non-conformist
and am now being punished for non-
conformity, and that alone.

And clearer now than it ever was is that
the prison is not an institution of reform,

despite all its claims, rather it acts solely as an insurance policy of the capitalist machine to obtain membership and revenue from all who would otherwise not contribute (in the preferable means and amounts).

Here no help is offered. Here is a constant battle to keep any dignity and strength we can guard intact. To live by the morals and values I hold is more difficult here than it ever was; for in prison, non-compliance is condemnation. With out a warrant, my actions often prompt jailers to remind me that I am no candidate for parole. For parole, one must not only be guilty and sorry, but must acknowledge the prison experience reformed or bettered them in some way. And it does not, and I will not.

They have taken everything I love. They did so intentionally knowing well that I did not kill anyone. They have taken all from me that they can, but from my bunk in my cell, where I am confined nineteen hours a day, I know that what they yearn to take the most they will never have; they will never take my spirit, nor sway my beliefs and values, which are against them.



Nyki Kish

Nicole Kish or Nyki to those who know and adore her is a talented singer songwriter, artist, poet, and dedicated community activist. Over the past few years, Nyki founded a non-profit

organization dedicated to improving literacy and educational opportunities within Ontario's correctional facilities. As well she co-founded Bound for Glory, a not for profit arts and literary magazine for talented and neglected artist. Sadly however, on March 1st 2011, Nyki was wrongfully convicted of 2nd degree murder for little reason more than that she was there and she was stabbed. Dismissing the complete absence of positive identification, the confession of a former co-accused in regards to having pulled the alleged fatal knife, the lack of any DNA on Nyki and the copious amount on others, and the two separately "lost" surveillance videos gone missing in police custody, which have been alleged to have captured the events of that night, the judge successfully undermined this country's core judicial principal of having to achieve beyond a reasonable doubt for obtaining a conviction. In fact the defense breached that thresh hold in proving here innocent. In short, backed by a media complacent with the "official" yet inconsistent story of Detective Giroux and the crown, an innocent young woman temporarily if not indefinitely lost her right to a beautiful life. Nonetheless, an appeal is being put forth and we plea to all who have a good heart and poses a care for true justice to support Nyki through these dark times and to demand her release/ ultimate acquittal.

Please everybody, write Nyki. Nothing would be as meaningful than to do so.

Her address is:

Nicole Kish

Grand Valley, 1575 Homer Watson Blvd,
Kitchener, Ontario
N2P 2C5
Max Unit

more info: www.freenyki.org

Kanahus Pellkey with the Native Youth Movement:

Fighting For Land and Freedom

by Matt Soltys

This interview took place on Healing the Earth Radio on CFRU 93.3fm in 2007. Healing the Earth Radio was on the air from June 2005 to June 2010. It covered a variety of social and ecological issues, with a focus on colonization in North America, deep ecology, and resistance. All the show's interviews can be found online at www.resistanceisfertile.ca.

This interview is featured in the book *Tangled Like Roots: Dialogues exploring decolonization, healing, and ecological justice*, a collection of some of the most powerful interviews from five years of Healing the Earth Radio. Look for it in late 2012.

Healing the Earth Radio: Can you talk about who the Native Youth Movement is, and your stance on land, self determination, and the Canadian government as a government of occupation?

Kanahus: My name is Kanahus

Here in our community, we started organizing with the Native Youth Movement, and formed a Secwepemc chapter of the Native Youth Movement in order to inspire young Native warriors to stand up and fight in defence of our land. So the Native Youth Movement is a warrior society for Native youth to defend our homeland. Our goal is freedom, real freedom. True freedom. When we talk about that, we mean how our ancestors were able to walk free on our land, without any type of

disturbance or influence by any other people, any occupiers or invaders. This is our dream that we see, and our elders and our prophecies tell us that this day will come. And the people who know how to survive on the land, the people who know the medicines, who know how to heal themselves, who know how to eat the food that grows off the forest floor, they are the ones who are going to survive. And the people in the cities, the people from areas that don't have clean water, are going to be seeking refuge in our mountains, and are going to be

looking at us once again to keep them alive through the harsh winters.

So education is one of the key things within the Native Youth Movement, we're reviving and relearning all this traditional knowledge that has been fading away during the colonization and assimilation of our people. It's really important, relearning all this traditional knowledge, and Canada doesn't want us to maintain and revive this knowledge. They threw our parents, our grandparents, and our great-grandparents into residential schools, they took them away from this way of living and assimilated them, indoctrinated the White values and White teachings into them. And now, we are the first generation out of that residential school mentality. We are the first generation out of that situation where ninety-five per cent of our people were sexually assaulted and raped by priests and nuns in their schools. And that disease is still carrying on into our communities.

So by creating this pride and reviving of the warrior spirit within our youth, we're regaining a lot of strength within our communities, and it is showing a lot of parents and grandparents that there is hope for the future. We do have hope, our people are going to survive because the young people are gaining interest in keeping our ways alive.

Canada had a big involvement in trying to exterminate our race, and what our elders say is that we can't live in two worlds. We can't live in the White world and then think we can live in the Indian world. They're two contradicting factors. We have to either choose one way or the other. In the Native Youth Movement we explain it like the matrix, you either take the blue pill or the red pill. The red pill down the red road and live our ways, and this is what a lot of the young people are choosing to do when they join the Native Youth Movement. So the Native Youth Movement has been

a total inspiration to our communities, and when we have young people go into other communities and talk to other Native youth, and hear them speak so strongly and passionately about the land, about defending our land, about stopping development, respecting our berry picking grounds and our hunting grounds, this inspires whole communities to stand up, and whole groups of youth to become a part of the Native Youth Movement.

In our community, we've been involved in fighting the Sun Peaks ski resort, it's one of the main campaigns that the Native Youth Movement started working on, and is continuing to work on. Their expansion is still going through, but the youth haven't been defeated. They're still fighting, finding new and innovative ways that we can bring our messages to the world, to let people know what Canada is doing, how they're selling our land, Indigenous Secwepemc land, from right under our feet, how they're bulldozing down homes. We had youth come together from all over Turtle Island to come up to our mountains in Skwelkwew'welt, and we built a home and sweat lodges. They bulldozed that down, and we built other homes, and they tore those down too. The Canadian government has their involvement in this with the corporations and with the RCMP, with the judges, and they all work hand in hand, all in this whole corrupt Canadian system.

That's a little explanation about the Native Youth Movement, but it's a whole lifestyle. It's a lifestyle that everyone chooses to live once they become conscious and they become aware, and they realize that we are a colonized people, but we never did surrender, and we're never going to surrender. And when we say that, there comes a big job and a big responsibility for all of us. That means we got to speak for the trees, and we got to speak for the

animals, and everything that depends on us, and all that we depend on.

Healing the Earth Radio: What are some of the biggest challenges you have faced in your struggles for your land?

Kanahus: One of our elders, Harriet Nahanee, a Native elder, a great grandmother, she stood in the way of that development, and she was arrested, thrown into their jails, and was found guilty and sentenced to fourteen days. And that may seem short to some people, but when you're old, when you're in your 70s, and you spend those days in jail away from your family, knowing what you stood up for, for the land, for the future generations. She was sick when she went in, and when she got out, she had developed pneumonia, which eventually took her life, a couple weeks after she was released from prison. And the prison that they threw her into was a men's facility, they don't have no women's facilities in BC no more, they're all men's pretrial centers. So that's where she spent some of her last days, in the prison there

We accuse Canada of murdering her, and we accuse the 2010 Olympics of being an accomplice in that as well. Because without the 2010 Olympics pushing all this massive development

in the province, Native people wouldn't have to stand up so strongly, and risk their freedom and go to jail.

All of us have been to jail here in this Secwepemc chapter of the Native Youth Movement, our elders have went to jail, my mother has went to jail, our grandmothers have went to jail. And

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we have to see that, we have to witness that with our own eyes, our mothers and our grandmothers being shackled, their ankles and their wrists being shackled together, because of their stance, that this is our homeland and we're going to do whatever we can in our capacity to defend this land, no matter what it takes to bring that attention and inspire more people to stand up for the land.

So we have all had our time in standing up against the court system. There's still court stuff going on with Sun Peaks, from a roadblock in 2001. They're still continuing on today, there are still two people in court, facing all these court procedures, judges judging if they believe that it's their land. There's white judges standing there saying, 'Do the Natives really believe it's their land? How could they believe that, it's so ridiculous for Native people to believe that it's their land.' We have that on the court transcript, these words coming out of these judge's mouths. We're pushed through this court system, yet we don't believe that we're ever going to receive any justice in the Canadian

court system. The judges are never going to hit their hammer down on the table and say, 'Here, the Natives are right, this is all their land, they have never ceded this land, surrendered this land, they have never signed treaties to this land,' because the judge is never going to evict himself out of his own home. Because that's what that would mean.

So there's no type of justice, it's just a lot of corruption. The judges are saying this, the premier is getting orders to arrest our people, and then we're caught into the court system. We have a no-win situation once we're in their courts, once we're in their prisons, because we can't fight the way we want to when we're locked up, shackled behind enemy lines.

HtER: There's the case of Trevor Miller, in Six Nations, who refused to identify as a Canadian citizen, and as a result was forced to stay in prison for so many months. A lot of people think that Canada has a colonialist past, and neglect to recognize the colonialist present, right now. A lot of people look at residential schools and genocide as something in Canada's dirty history - can you talk a bit about your stance on these courts, these governments, these provinces, and so on?

K: They're here because they're illegally defying their own laws, the laws set forth for them to even come onto our land in the first place. The original laws they set forth for themselves said they could never occupy Indigenous

territories, or else they'd be charged with treason and with imprisonment. But even the way they've first been occupying our land is illegal under their laws. And we already know they're not going to uphold their old laws that they're supposed to be continuing to uphold, those that are still in the constitution of Canada. They're not going to ever uphold that.

I talk to other people who don't really understand the effects that this has on our people, and they say stuff like, 'Oh,

why don't you just get over it and live in Canadian society,' or, 'Just be happy, we're in the best place in the world!' But for us it's not. For us we're in the most racist country in the world. Canada is at the top of the human rights index, and the Natives of Canada are number forty-eight. Right down with any of the 'third world' countries.

So the effects that the residential schools have had on our people, we still see it today. So for the minister of Indian affairs to say that we have to forget about the past and go on into the future, well, we still see those effects today. Still our little kids are getting sexually abused, because as a professional or a therapist that specializes in sexual abuse knows, it continues on. They knew that when they did that to our children, to my grandparents, and to my great grandparents. They knew that sickness would carry on. They knew, from over in Europe, how that worked. It worked in messing our people's minds so much that they're not even thinking of

For us we're in the most racist country in the world. Canada is at the top of the human rights index, and the Natives of Canada are number forty-eight. Right down with any of the 'third world' countries.

fighting, they're thinking about how they're going to get through day to day, with all their jumbled emotions from being abused when they were children. Those effects are carrying on today.

A lot of our hunters, our grandparents, when they tried to leave these concentrations of the Indian reserve system, and they tried to leave and hunt for their food, and pick berries, they were stopped and they were charged, and they were thrown in prison. Their fishing spears were broken, and their fishing traps were broken, and their hunting weapons were taken away. Those people, they lost so much inside, it broke their heart and it broke their spirit, to take everything that we've ever known in our whole

**That's why it is so
important for us to relearn
our ways, our culture
and traditions, because
that's who we are, distinct
Indigenous nations.**

existence away from us, and push us to be Canadian citizens. A lot of our people turned to alcoholism, to abuse, turned to all these negative things. My mother, she calls it the dark ages. That was our dark ages. Europe had their dark ages, but our dark ages were in that time, those generations when all those things were taken and forcibly removed from us. And that was my great grandmothers', and my grandmothers', and my parents' generation. And you can see these intergenerational effects being laid on our people right now, the youth of today.

So it's really important for the young people to know that we need to have strong healthy minds, we have to go dip in the cold ice water to clean all that stuff from us, to bring our spirits

up strong like our ancestors were, to hold our heads high. That's why it is so important for us to relearn our ways, our culture and traditions, because that's who we are, distinct Indigenous nations.

I've been following Trevor Miller when he was in jail, and his stance that he made, and it made us so proud that he was able to make that stance, because a lot of people will just give in. After they're there for a week, or two weeks, they'll just give in and get a lawyer. There's a few other young women in Grassy Narrows, who are making the exact same stance, and their trial is going on this summer, for blocking a road, for protecting their homeland. I give props to those three young women for making that same stance, because it's not an easy stance to make. I was held in jail for a month too without bail, and it was hard, especially when I had a baby that I was still breastfeeding.

HtER: Many people think that Canada is still far from a police state, you know, maybe the US, but not Canada. But lots of people have experience, particularly the Native Youth Movement and the West Coast Warrior Society, as well as non-Native earth and animal rights activists, being harassed and targeted by the RCMP, CSIS, and also INSET, this fairly new anti-terror squad. Can you talk about your experiences dealing with this kind of harassment, if you feel comfortable doing so?

K: Well, the first operation that INSET, the Integrated National Security Enforcement Team, the anti-terrorist unit for Canada, the first operation they held here in BC was against the Native Youth Movement, and against the West Coast Warrior Society. They raided their homes, and obviously they never found anything, but it was an operation to intimidate, and it was an operation to

harass, to try and get public support swayed more towards the anti-terrorist laws than towards Native people standing up for their rights. We've had constant police surveillance and harassment on our people, because our community is such a strong community of resistance.

There are people who stood up in the armed standoff of Gustafsen lake, in 1995. Our grandfather, Wolverine, he lives in this community, his granddaughter who was also there lives in this community, and there's a lot of resistance here. We have always held blockades when they were trying to go into and develop certain areas, including armed blockades, and our people aren't afraid to make that stand when it needs to be done. So the police on that side already had their eye on this community, and when we moved up to Skwelkwel'welt to stop the Sun Peaks expansion, obviously the cops were there right at the get go, with harassment, getting choppers to fly in our areas, creating situations that are provocative, and certain police officers created confrontations so they could make arrests.

The young people, the majority that were there putting their lives on the line, a lot of our people were either wrapped up in the court system, or chose not to turn themselves in and ended up being on the run for years and years. That was the choice that I made. I was pregnant, and they charged with me with assaulting police officers, with things that I had no involvement in. Basically, because I was a spokesperson, they targeted me. And I chose to not turn myself in, I didn't want my baby to be born in jail. And so after my baby was born, I moved to a small little town called Bella Coola, right on the coast of Vancouver, real isolated, one road in and one road out. And I stayed on that Indian reserve, and my little sister came down, after she just had

her baby. And her baby got sick, and we made the hard choice to bring him to the hospital, to this little redneck hospital in Bella Coola. And the baby passed away there, and they wanted to keep him and cut him open and do an autopsy, to find out how he passed away. But my sister made the choice, No, that's not our ways, and we left the hospital. After that, within hours, a massive manhunt for us ensued, and they found out that we were involved with Sun Peaks land occupations and roadblocks and such, and they brought in five major crime districts from all the surrounding cities, from Williams Lake, Kamloops, Kelowna, and they were flying specialists in from around the province to hunt for us, putting up

We have always held blockades when they were trying to go into and develop certain areas, including armed blockades, and our people aren't afraid to make that stand when it needs to be done.

roadblocks and everything.

There were five of us, including my little baby, and we had a ceremony in one of the most beautiful places in the world, and we buried my little nephew in the mountains, but because they didn't know where we had that ceremony, where we buried the baby's body and had this last ceremony for him, they tried to throw the charges of manslaughter on us. And they put this all over the paper that we were wanted for murder, for murder of this baby, my little nephew. They ended up catching us, and they threw us all in jail, including my mother and my nephews, and they ended up holding us without bail for days. My little sister had to

stay in jail for four days after her baby passed away. They were threatening to charge her with murder, and putting it all over the papers that I was charged with this and that, and trying to create a big huge smear campaign against us, using the death of the baby as an excuse to slander our name everywhere. That was a four year court case that we were involved in. And of course they ended up dropping the charges, because we had nothing to do with the death of the baby. But they use things like that to try and sway public support away from us. Even calling our people 'baby killers,' going to the extreme of doing that, trying to break our spirit. But it doesn't. They raided six of our houses simultaneously because of that, getting search warrants saying that they're investigating a homicide, but meanwhile they took all our computers, took all our paperwork, all our contacts and phonebooks, not even looking at the baby's room.

My father's been very politically active, as is my mother, and all our family was involved in these raids. They took all our stuff, they had computer specialists taking all the information off our computers, and they destroyed them all. They took a total of eleven computers in the raid, and destroyed everything. They took all of our addresses and contacts, and email lists, and gave us letters saying that they have all our email codes, and they're going to be tapping our phones, just giving us straight-up letters. They're getting

people wrapped up in the prison system and the court system, and trying to dismantle the movement before it even gets bigger, and exploding into a mass Indigenous movement like you see with the Zapatistas down in Mexico. That started out with a handful of people, and it exploded, and now there's tens of thousands of Zapatistas. They have the biggest Indigenous army in the world.

For us, we look at a lot of different resistance movements around the world, like the Mapuche down in Argentina, they have a strong movement, and we're gaining alliances with these people and we stand in solidarity with each other. The same blood that runs through the Mapuche bodies of the Indigenous people is the same that runs through ours, in Gwich'in up in Alaska, we're all Indigenous people and we have that connection because it's the same blood. The blood of our ancestors and the bones of our ancestors, all throughout Turtle Island, this whole Western hemisphere, we're going through the same thing. The Mayan people in Guatemala, they had hundreds of thousands of people slaughtered. There's widows still there, living and resisting. Our people have went through such a history of genocide and a history of great impact on our populations, on our culture, on our language, on everything, but something is within us that won't... we won't ever stop fighting. My children won't ever stop fighting, because we're fighting for our future of life, our water.

Jail and Its Gatekeepers

by Trevor Sutherland

These writings are based on my experiences in jail. Having spent some time in these institutions and during those times in there becoming accustomed to their environment, I've observed that these places are ruled by dysfunctional mentalities at both levels of the hierarchy: the jailed and the gatekeepers. I ask myself the question: if we are supposed to be going through some sort of behavioural correction, where and when the fuck is it happening? Simply put, it doesn't. How could people heal in such a hostile environment, where we are pitted against each other on a day to day basis? Thinking back on all the time I've spent in jail I recall many insane situations, a lot pertaining to abuse. Whether physical or emotional, it all happens and it's sickening. Mostly it comes from the c.o.s* aka the gatekeepers. In my experience, not all but most of them seem to have been corrupted and develop some sort of power trip that probably happens because of the dehumanizing nature of the building itself; also having too much power over another's life has to be taken into account. That being said, time and time again I have noticed how angry this place is. Actually its quite a little crazy world we live in, a world filled with hate and confusion which most of us do not realize the origins of, unaware of the inner conflict we go through on a personal level

and how that relates to our feelings and each other.

For myself as an indigenous person, I've been dealing with inner conflict for a good part of my life. I can say it was one of the immediate reasons why I acted out and felt angry and insecure. I look back on my life and the shit I've been through and the history behind it, and the fact that most of my trauma stems from residential school in one way or another. The effects

“...school officials implemented systematic attempts to strip away our culture...”

of the schools my family members were forced to attend and its perpetuation of cultural genocide upon the victims whose names I won't disclose, certainly constitute mental harm, to say the least. Within the schools the general policies were to “kill the indian:” school officials implemented systematic attempts to strip away

our culture (language, dress, long hair, spirituality, world views, and economic and political kinship systems) while supplanting those ways with settler Christians values, world views and ways of being. This has led to my identity issues and feelings of loss. Since my culture is directly linked to my identity as an indigenous person, and since it was stripped away from me and my parents, and grandparents before them, it affects me deeply and is something that affects the people around me because of the negativity and insecurity that comes from trauma. Furthermore, the sorts of mentalities that jail breeds and perpetuates mixed with

* Corrections officers

the mentalities that already exist prior to coming to jail (thought processes ruled by heteropatriarchy, sexism, racism) create problematic situations. I recall a situation revolving around jail culture and the jail mentality including forced hierarchy. It was a usual Metro West morning and a bunch of new guys had landed on the range. One of the new guys ended up breaking two of the sort of unspoken rules that exist in jail: he showered without his boxers on and before that he didn't brush his teeth, two pretty serious infractions that were dealt with in the usual aggressive way. What's called a 'deafaz' was the consequence (a slap across the face deafening the ears in order to put a person into check, usually taken care of by a person or persons at the top of the hierarchy) Coming from a broken home and being exposed to trauma and being in jail and subsequently

exposed to the hostile environment, issues become compounded, affecting people drastically in these institutions which must be subverted.

When I think about enforced heteropatriarchy and how that relates to jail, I think of inmates assuming our supposedly inherent patriarchal dominant roles of mindless male privilege and further enabling a cycle of internalized oppression (the manner in which an oppressed group comes to use against itself the methods and the mentalities of the oppressor). I'm reminded of another incident where guys were at the beck and call of the c.o's. These guys were doing the count for the guards and everything; this usually takes place two to four times a day in these

institutions. Well the fact that those fellas were doing this on behalf of those c.o's is fucking crazy. These guards were using those guys as tools to self-police/self-regulate. In those situations, the inmates become instilled with a certain level of power which goes to their heads, possibly later manifesting in a perverse form of institutional oppression. When I think about issues we face as individuals vs. issues we face as inmates and at the same time try and think of healthy ways to deal with them, its hard because those who hold control in these desolate institutions

use manipulation and fear as a means to coerce inmates to do their bidding, perpetuating a constant struggle to reproduce a hierarchy that controls us. In conjunction with this is a reward system that c.o's use to manipulate us into compliance (food extras, special privileges, server status, favoritism) which provokes individuals to feel a false sense of empowerment, ultimately being

pacified and simultaneously diverting attention from ever important solidarity.

Hate manifesting itself in these institutions creates trauma affecting the physical, mental, spiritual and emotional well-being of the inhabiting marginalized masses. Whether its male privilege, patriarchy, white supremacy or any other sort of mentality that creates the metaphysical constructs of oppression in jail, they must be broken. You can call it decolonizing or deprogramming or simply interrupting patterns of dysfunctional behavior. I have to take a really deep breath and think, how does a person do that? It can be overwhelming. I can say for myself, as an indigenous person, my history of trauma is deep-

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rooted, stemming back 500 years. From colonization to residential school and the 60s scoops, the list of atrocities goes on. Being aware of the social wrongs is one thing, being able to cope with them in another. Political awareness is great and all but a certain level of self-awareness has to take place. Breaking deep-rooted conditioning is tough but it was and is integral to my change. Self-awareness, to me, is the foundation to the discipline of a good mind, which can help a person better understand the bigger picture as well as help a person with the extremely violent conditions of jail in a good way, coming out hopefully somewhat intact. Deinstitutionalizing is breaking free of the jail mentality, therefore breaking

free of an identity that is self-destructive and counterproductive to a good life. Remember where our loyalties should lie: the real physical world. Remembering the real connections we have with loved ones, family and lovers/partners is of the utmost importance, hopefully disconnecting subservience to a manipulative cycle of domination. Furthermore, I must acknowledge community support is an integral part of jail survival in the sense that it brings of a feeling of being cared about and loved in an environment where there is next to no affection. From behind the desolate walls of coercion and manipulation, thank you to all my supporters; for my community and for all of creation, migwetch.

When they knock down your front door, how're you gonna come?

A few reflections on the GAMMA squad

‘Word on the street is, there’s a new police squad in Montreal called GAMMA - short for “Guet des activités et des mouvements marginaux et anarchistes” - whose goal is to investigate and repress anarchist and marginal movements. The following is a series of reflections on this development from a few anarchists. Needless to say, it’s not meant to be representative, but is rather our own analysis of this situation, and can hopefully stimulate some discussion amongst our various circles.

We understand the GAMMA squad to be a sign of the state adapting its strategy not only to an increasing amount of attacks against it, but also to a broader context of increasing austerity, and therefore of potential rebellions to come. Its ultimate goal, of course, is the maintenance of social control, necessary for the preservation of this system.

WHY GAMMA?

The new squad is part of the “Specialized Investigations” division of the SPVM, (Service de police de la Ville de Montréal) which is the umbrella group that has organized crime as one of its focuses. Taking a cue from how the police investigate street gangs, mafia, and the bikers, GAMMA has a mission to profile and accumulate information on the actions, interests, and lifestyles of people considered anarchist or marginal, and so specifically targets anyone who questions the dominant social order.

Why, then, a specialized squad to target anarchists? There are several reasons that we can think of. On the one hand, this is the state’s attempt at shaping the discourse around anarchist ideas and actions. By using the media to single out anarchists, the state tries to personify the anarchist as a dangerous terrorist and asks the population to

become pre-emptive snitches in order to protect themselves from this supposed menace. An example of this sort of discourse put into practice is the citizen-snitches during and after the British riots this August, organizing vigilante squads, taking cell-phone photos, and calling in toll-free numbers to denounce the rioters. In casting the anarchist as “the dangerous other”, the spectre of GAMMA hopes to draw a clear dividing line between those who are anarchists and will therefore be criminalized, and everyone else (who presumably doesn’t want to be criminalized) – a sort of classic divide and conquer, separate and box in. This is meant to discourage everyone else from getting any ideas about rebelling themselves, of identifying with the rebels, because they just may. Because in reality this line is a blurry one, and the desire to fight this social order is by no means unique to “the anarchists”, so in doing this the state is attempting to paint a line over already stormy, ever-shifting waters.

By creating a squad with this intention, the state is contributing

to the maintenance of social control that capitalist society needs in order to function. In fact, it is physically impossible for the police to be everywhere at once – they can’t be everywhere all the time. They can try to get around this fact by installing all sorts of other technology of control - surveillance cameras on every corner, wiretapping phones, mapping out networks through facebook and twitter, store anti-theft detectors, ID cards, biometrics, collecting people’s DNA, x-ray machines at customs, flying drones over borders, the threat of prison – but the key element of social control is our own internalization of it, ie. the cop inside our head. It is the residue of the fear that they create. In the end, police squads like GAMMA accomplish as much through the ghost of their possible presence, as through their actual physical existence.

Of course, there is also a material logic to the creation of GAMMA. It appears to be a bureaucratic re-organization of police forces in order to more efficiently collect and process information about our struggles. They are focusing on anarchists



and consolidating their databases to try to better understand patterns and draw links between distinct events.

REPRESSION, AND A REJECTION OF THE DISCOURSE OF “RIGHTS”

GAMMA can only be understood by looking at the role repression plays more broadly. Repression has always been an integral part of the functioning of the state. Every state has at its foundation the monopoly on organized violence which it expresses through its laws, its police and its prisons. It therefore isn't surprising to see the police trying to repress a struggle that has as its honest intention the total negation of the state. Likewise, political profiling has always existed. Liberals like to boast about how we have freedom of speech, and that other one – freedom of thought. As long as ideas remain exclusively in the realm of just ideas, we have these “freedoms”. As soon as people start to put their ideas into practice, however, and when these challenge the dominant social order, repression suddenly makes itself felt and these freedoms fade into a quickly distant memory, echoed in the walls of the Toronto East Detention Centre, in Pinochet's torture chambers, in the ruins of Warsaw, and in the sandy cemeteries of Afghanistan.

The rights that constitute this democratic state are compromises that are offered to us in exchange for the maintenance of social peace (ie. the absence of rebellion) and our obedience in the face of this system of misery. Within the discourse of rights is implicit the need for the police, the laws and the state to exist, to protect them. In reality, however, as soon as state power is threatened, rights rapidly disappear. To quell the uprisings in England, the government imposed a state of exception. Prime Minister Cameron ordered the police to use all the tools at their disposal in order to reestablish order – to do whatever it takes. The law was on their side. As soon as



order was transgressed, democracy turned tyrannical. It started to look like scenes from a science fiction movie. The police symbolized the limits of the possible.

In our context, rights are often invoked in a moral way, a mythology to which people can refer to, the glorious constitution and such. We argue that rights are a concept that can, like all language, change its meaning, application, and intentions, and can be used or let go by the state depending on circumstances, as convenient. In building a serious struggle against the state, then, banking solely on our rights and throwing our lot in with that concept is a form of insanity. We need something else.

Democracy and fascism are two sides of the same coin, and it flips based on the social, political, geographic and economic context.

REPRESSION IN THE AUSTERITY ERA

And the context is changing. We're now full on in the era of austerity. Everywhere in the world, states are cutting their social and public sector policies, as well as their spending on public health, education, and social welfare. In order to deal with the current global financial crisis, the welfare state, established after the Second World War, is now being drawn back, with increasing privatization of whatever remains. By cutting social measures the State is also preparing to face the revolts of an increasing number of those

Photos: Images from the 2011 May Day demonstration in Montréal. The first arrests of the GAMMA squad came in the wake of this demo.

exploited or excluded completely from the system, many of whose labor power has become redundant and who teeter around the service economy, trying to ink out a living. Austerity is the engine that is influencing the changing face and form that repression takes. Meanwhile, a real rage is simmering under this surface, and there are always those who chose to fight for freedom and for the destruction of this prison world that envelops us.

As anarchists, not only are we not surprised by these developments, but we refuse to hide behind the veil of justice to claim our innocence. What role does innocence play in a struggle anyway? For us, the courts are not the terrain of struggle on which we can win this war, even though we may have victories here and there. We refuse to use the discourse of the courts. In a world based on exploitation and misery, our desires for total freedom will always be criminal. The law's main function is the maintenance of this system. Our struggle is against capital and the state in its entirety, and against all manifestations of this in our daily life, against the police and other forms and institutions that serve and reinforce the state's power and control. As our struggles grow, develop, and intensify, it is not surprising that they will try to respond with greater repression.

HOW CAN WE RESPOND?

The question is, then, how do we respond? How many people hate this system? How many hide their rage, feeling isolated and alone? A world that needs prisons isn't ours. Each pig is a symbol of rational domination over the body. Because we imagine a million other possible ways to live, and we have dreams, we refuse to bow our heads in front of the social order and its laws. Our power lies in the fact that we are not the only ones who are suffocating in this world and who choose to fight it. The state's control over our lives grows proportionally to the increase in people's general sense of

alienation. In the city, urban planning leads to a mapping of every inch of space, where there are less and less places to hide. Capital wages war on us by appropriating every centimetre of our space, every muscle of our bodies and the ideas in our heads. If we refuse to be colonized by this, we must find ways to fight it. We've made the choice to be in active conflict, together, in the face of this system rather than waiting in front of the television hoping that this system will collapse on its own. If the rioters of London, or those of the ghettos of Paris, or Egypt, or Greece, chose to take their lives into their own hands, we are surely capable of doing the same.

Now is the time to find each other as comrades in struggle, to self-organize. We need to create the things we want to see ourselves, because nobody will do it for us. We need to develop our practices in terms of communication, creativity, and conflict. The gap between ideas and action is really not that wide at all.

Now is also a time to work out our differences, and build a critical solidarity with each other, not letting the state tear us apart over petty conflicts. This doesn't mean that we should erase our differences, or that we all have to work together, but we can still support each other.

Finally, we should be careful not to get cornered, or to get stuck in a war of attrition against the police. If we remain few, we will eventually lose. The repressive strategy of the Canadian state, similar to France, United States, England and other dominant countries, is based on the theory of permanent counterinsurgency. This means that they must try to repress each social struggle in its infancy, before it has had a chance to grow or reach a certain critical mass.

Our greatest strength, then, is not our passion, nor our rage, nor even the sharpness of our revenge, but rather the possibility that our ideas and practices will spread to the powder keg that is this fragmented society.

G20 Charges, Tar Sands, & Occupy Wall Street

by Alex Hundert

On Monday September 26th 2011, more than one hundred people were arrested when they engaged in an act of mass civil disobedience on Parliament Hill in Ottawa. They were there to protest against the Keystone XL pipeline, and to send this message to the Harper Government: The Alberta tar sands are environmentally destructive and socially irresponsible, and the extraction project there should be understood as “ecocide”.

Some reports indicate that more than 1000 people rallied in Ottawa to protest, listen to speeches, and to support almost two hundred people who risked arrest.

The Ottawa action followed a prolonged action earlier last month in Washington, where, in a two week period, more than 1000 people were arrested out front of the White House, in an attempt to urge President Obama not to approve the Keystone XL Pipeline when he has the opportunity in November.

Both of these actions were highly coordinated by professional activists, with the backing of large NGOs including Greenpeace, 350.org, Indigenous Environmental Network, and others. The arrestees in both actions included a number of celebrity activists. In both places, most of the arrestees and many others attended professionally facilitated

trainings and workshops to prepare themselves for the actions and the arrests. The organisers met and planned for months in advance.

In many ways, minus the celebrities and the NGO funding, much of the work that went into planning the week long convergence against the G20 summit in Toronto in 2010 was very similar; months of meetings and workshops were held, as well as training series conducted in several different cities. Unfortunately, unlike in Ottawa and Washington, many of the over 1000 people arrested in Toronto during the G20 had not prepared for the experience of being arrested, nor did not they volunteer for it. In Toronto, people also had a much more real version of what being arrested more often feels like: violent, scary and uncertain. In staged acts of civil disobedience like the ones in Ottawa and Washington, the experience of arrest tends to be more, well, “civil”.

There is tremendous amount of space already devoted to critiquing the tactics employed in these two very different actions the marches and the accompanying black bloc tactics in Toronto, the staged arrests in Washington and Ottawa but what I’m interested in here is the organizing and the threats posed to this kind of organizing by the type of prosecution that the Ontario

Crown Attorney's office is perpetrating against me and sixteen others in the "G20 Main Conspiracy Group Prosecution".

While the Crown is likely to present to the court all kinds of inflammatory comments, including quotes from my blog, for most of those accused, the only suggestion of any "conspiracy" on their part, will be the allegation that they were merely present at protest planning meetings when "unlawful acts" were discussed. That is to say, the Crown will say that they agreed to be part of a conspiracy to, for example commit mischief, merely because they were present at a meeting where someone said that windows would likely get smashed during a given rally or march.

While some of the unlawful acts that get mentioned over months of protest organizing may be inflammatory and distasteful to some, it should be stressed that it is the "unlawful nature" of such acts that creates the alleged "conspiracy." The fact that some of these acts that get discussed may be considered by some to be over some arbitrary line of acceptability should be inconsequential. The type of "criminality" is not what is relevant; what is important is that the acts discussed at these meetings are technically against the law.

If this is enough for "conspiracy" charges to stick to organizers, the future of protest organizing is actually in jeopardy.

Conspiracy law is inherently confusing; that's part of the problem. In Canada, the current conspiracy laws exist on the books mostly for the purpose of prosecuting

gangsters, such as mobs and biker gangs. However, occasionally, the state has tried to use these charges against activists; there was a case in Quebec after the 2001 FTAA summit in Quebec City, and another one right here in Ontario after the so-called "OCAP riot" in the same year. Ten years later, they are trying again.

In the United States, conspiracy charges have been used similarly, however there they also get conflated with pseudo-

fascistic domestic terrorism laws. The RNC 8 and the SHAC 7 are two examples of cases where counter-terrorism laws have been conflated with the application of conspiracy law against protest organizers.

In Canada, the application of laws designed for the Hell's Angels and the Mafia against political organizers and community activists is the same type of dangerous slide towards fascism

that we have seen in the US with the types of cases mentioned (and unfortunately, many others as well).

The G20 Main Conspiracy Group Prosecution is yet another attempt by the Canadian government to manipulate the laws so that they can use the so-called criminal justice system as a weapon against political organizers. This is a very dangerous road to travel.

The meetings to plan the G20 protests happened over the course of 2009 and 2010. Now flash forward to 2011, and imagine the planning meetings for the recent Ottawa and Washington anti-tar sands actions. What do you imagine those meetings to have looked like? Obviously in the meetings to plan these acts of

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mass civil disobedience and pre-arranged arrests, organizers put forward a plan that included coordinated unlawfulness.

According to the precedent being set in our case, if we lose on the conspiracy charges, the implication will be that organizing for mass civil disobedience will be similarly criminalized alongside more “confrontational” mass actions. The crime that could be alleged against such organizers would likely be conspiracy to commit mischief and conspiracy to obstruct justice, potentially indictable offenses that carry potential serious prison time.

And there is more. In addition to the “conspiracy” charges that all seventeen of us have, I have an additional six counts of “counselling” to commit various indictable offences. All of these charges stem from workshops that were conducted over the course of preparing for the G20 protests; facilitating workshops for new activists has been one of my primary sources of income over the last few years. One ramification of these charges is that these workshops one of the primary means by which activists share skills with each other, and a primary activity for building movements may become understood by the courts as inherently criminal. That cannot be allowed to happen.

Let me clear one thing up; I was not teaching people how to fight cops not even close. I was facilitating discussions about what people could expect at major summit protests. Most of the workshops consisted of talking about what happened at past summits and about the policing tactics used at the types of protests that people could expect to take place on the streets of Toronto. And for the record, what we told people to expect was pretty much exactly what happened. Maybe they’re just mad at us because we were right.

Most of the workshops in question were nearly identical to the same “Direct Action 101” workshops that I and many others have been conducting together for years with student groups, grassroots

organizations, activist groups, NGOs, unions, etc. They are nearly identical to the same “Direct Action” workshops facilitated by experienced action trainers and coordinators across the continent and even the globe. They are in fact, likely very similar, to the trainings that more than one thousand people received before the Washington actions and more than two hundred before the Ottawa actions. I feel that I can safely make that assumption because several of the trainers and coordinators for these actions are some of the very same people who trained me.

These types of trainings and workshops are incredibly important at this current political moment in history. There are thousands of people across North America who are engaging in street activism for the very first time, as they are inspired by the incredible #OccupyWallStreet movement (also not without some very serious and necessary critiques).

Trainings de-mystify protest tactics and strategies, teach people the skills necessary to participate effectively in consensus processes such as the general assemblies that are the cornerstone of this new “occupation” movement, prepare people for the experience of potential arrest and other forms of police violence as well as their strategies and tactics, teach people skills to talk and interact with media, help people develop and hone political messaging and analysis, and many other really important things that are crucial to developing effective social movements. The state wants to prevent us from developing these movements.

The state is going to try to conceal what is really going on here by making their case against us all about the inflammatory comments made about tactics that the broader movement is not in consensus around. But disagreement about appropriate diversity of tactics has nothing to do with this case; it is a smoke screen. The important fact here is that they are trying to develop a structural weapon to criminalize organizing in general.

The Interviews:

G20 repression personalized

by anonymous

Interviewed two people convicted of G20 related offences, who are facing captivity by the state for attempts to resist it. What they have been charged with will not be disclosed to insure anonymity. Topics and questions came about organically in conversations and these interviews were very informal. Issues covered were the impact repression had on relationships with family and friends, surveillance, and suggestions for strengthening our ability to support people through repression. After examining some of the things said, it becomes clear how the state interferes in a very real way with our lives, relationships, and mental health. These rad folks face time behind bars, but their spirit of resistance is strong!

Sureties: Both of these people described sureties as one of the many ways the state messed with their lives and relationships outside of prison. Finding someone who is able to fulfill the roles of a surety, especially last minute, is difficult. Furthermore the surety has to be approved by the court, limiting the options. The surety role puts unbearable stress on their relationships with the few people who are willing and able to take on these responsibilities.

Neither Carson or Ellison had sureties in mind before their arrest, which Carson admits was a mistake. They suggest that Anyone who is active in resisting the state should have plans in place for if the state decides to attack them, and have in depth conversations with your potential sureties about what you both need. Also making sure they are okay with holding one perspective and presenting another to the court.

They go on to talk about their sureties, and the stress this process caused.

Carson: In regards to my dad, before arrest I would have thought we had a good relationship, I thought we had processed our shit and got to a good place. It became apparent after I was out that he felt pressured to take on the responsibility[of being a surety] because he was very well to do and someone who was really respected

by the courts. My dad felt he didn't have a choice, because he had to do what was needed to get me out of jail.....My dad acted like it wouldn't be a problem to meet all my needs, but when I got out, he had a meltdown, saying I had ruined him as a person, he made clear a whole bunch of resentment and anger. I told him I felt like he was taking up all the space with what I just went through. He said that's bullshit, he apologized for that but I felt that was out of desire to de-escalate the situation [family drama] was amplified because my dad was a surety.

Ellison struggled with their surety as well. They had tried to have their partner be their surety, the but courts deemed their partner too young. They also spoke about how their landlord was going to be their surety, but they had a criminal record, so they couldn't, leaving Ellison with no choice.

Ellison: My mom was my surety, that was hard because I tried my hardest to avoid her before I got arrested, and it is hard to avoid someone you're forced to live with. So that's annoying and a really hurtful situation.

Outside of the surety process, repression had impacts on Carson's relationship to their family. The court process left their family with no choice but to re-evaluate their relationship and attitudes towards the state, thus affecting their relationship to Carson.

Carson: My family identifies as progressive liberals and so when the state attacked me this way, it forced them to look at the tension between their beliefs and what happened. [They believed] that the Canadian state is more beneficial than harmful, that the state makes good choices and when there is a error in judgement it is the exceptional and can be dealt with by reform. But getting a window into the workings of the criminal justice system, having them throw me in jail and deny me bail, forced them to see their

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unacknowledged beliefs and to decide what to do [with these tensions]. ... My mom acted in one way and my dad acted in another. And my mom identified that she had beliefs that she had never even thought about ..[these beliefs] were brought to the front

and now she is forced to think about them critically. Now unfortunately, she feels isolated from her co-workers and her support group because of this, but she thinks that she has to challenge those ideas regardless. ...My dad did the opposite, when these things were brought to the forefront, he believed he needed to hold and reinforce them. So he went from being someone who considered himself a progressive liberal, to being on a conveyor built onto the right, and framing the view that his kids deserve state repression it . Same with other family members like my grandparents and aunties, and now we a poor relationship. Many didn't know how to respond, so have chosen to not respond, which has created space.

The state puts intense restrictions on the actions of those let out from jail, like curfews and non-associations. These have many direct and indirect, and possibly long term, effects on relationships.

Ellison: There is stress on all relationships I have, cause I can't go out past a certain time, can't hang out with friends from other cities, can't see certain people. It puts me in a horrible mood...I am not ashamed though, and wouldn't take it back. I feel good about engaging in different tactics [vandalism, breaking

windows, etc.] I try to be honest about it as much as I can.

Ellison's partner: My parents now know what is going on with Ellison, it gets out there. It may not be important for Ellison to have my parents respect him, but it is to me, so now they just view him as a criminal. That's been hard on me, and therefore us.

Carson: The hard lesson is you can't be a good partner in jail and also I can't be a good partner in the weeks leading up to jail. It is impossible to keep the energy that is normally put into conversations and processes. It's difficult being with someone and not being able to honour the process you normally do.

SURVEILLANCE

State surveillance of those resisting capital is rampant, in particular during times of intense repression such as around the G20. The lengths the state goes to attempt keep those that pose a threat watched and controlled at all times is haunting. Talking about and sharing stories of surveillance, is one way to negate the negative effects of surveillance like fear and control. Carson shares their experiences of surveillance before and after the G20.

Carson: I went to Vancouver for the Olympic celebration and I met a new lady there, I stayed at her house one night and in the morning she was approach by two undercover police (dressed as street people), they asked her if I was 'Carson'. It was clear I was being stalked all over Vancouver. Regardless of what we were doing, we had someone a few blocks behind us. People would pretend to be browsing. There was a few times I would stop to tie my shoe, then turn back quickly to look at them, we would make quick eye contact. This type of surveillance continues today.

Carson also spoke about surveillance after their arrest..

Carson: There is always this caution when on bail or condition and at the beginning you're conscious of so many things. When I finally had my conditions reduced I would be so aware of shit like jay walking cause I knew I was always being watched. Also through reading the disclosure and figuring out the extent of surveillance and the infiltration, it made me way more conscious of potential surveillance. I find myself remembering part of licence plates, noticing when I see the same car in two different cities. There have been instances it was obvious that I was being followed, like while driving. But until you have charges and get disclosure it can never be confirmed. So post release surveillance is so much more a part of my life this is a realistic thing.

Surveillance functions in part by creating a sense that one is always being watched. It functions via fear and creates a world and culture around itself. Resisting that world is part of resisting the state. This can be a challenge. Those who find themselves under heavy repression understand the effects surveillance has on your life and relationships.

Ellison: I feel like I've been surveilled a lot, straight up [by] police all over since six months before the G20. I try not to let that affect my mental state. I mean I keep it in mind and don't say certain things at inappropriate or unsafe times. It's put a lot of stress on my family, to have cops at our door and around our house every day. My little sister was scared shitless. This one time when a bunch of police showed up guns out and now she hates cops and she is only nine years old.

Ellison's Partner: I feel surveilled a lot to, maybe that is paranoia though. Its weird like on a Friday and Saturday night I feel scared of the drunk idiots and men downtown, that being said, I feel more safe around them then I do around cops and that says a lot. I have had cops wink

at me, while Ellison was in holding. And thought "what the fuck just happened..." its really fucked up before this, I thought it was just bad cops like some of them did bad things, now I don't think all, or most, are bad.

Carson: There was a lot of conversations around security culture and the potential of surveillance and infiltration but there was always a part of me that was like "who am I kidding, why would anyone give a shit about what I do?" That ended up being a theme in how they were able to have these operatives acting for so long, the idea that the police would heavily surveil and infiltrate, for us and what we organize around seemed so ridiculous, so it cut through a lot of that uncertainty and made it clear that there were some people in power who felt threatened by the organizing we did. ... Luckily, I have people I can talk to who have had similar experiences of repression and surveillance, so I can check in with people and check myself with the help of others. People in mainstream society think that it's a conspiracy theorist thing to think you have your phone taped, but it isn't, its reality. ...The biggest effect of all this was, well there was a person who pretended to be a certain person for a long time...I can't even begin to try and explain what it's like to have it confirmed there was an imposter operating like a sociopath, pretending to be someone they're not. Completely separate from the fact they're actually a police officer trying to ruin your life, just the fact someone who is close to you, is pretending to be someone else. Sharing space with them, I don't know what to say. But yeah it is so fucked up.

Surveillance is not the state's only tool to interfere with people's lives, as Ellison describes:

Ellison: Along with surveillance the cops and the courts played fucked up games, like holding back subpoenas for

months, then giving them five days before court and expecting people to show up on time. They did this to my mom and sister; this doesn't give them time to get prepared.

Another example was I was when I was arrested for breach because I had to live with my surety, then I moved to a new house with my surety and got arrested! Even though on my conditions it didn't say I had to stay at that address. It was a wrongful arrest.

This surveillance has real effects. Although sometime it is paranoia or fear and we aren't under surveillance, that too is a function of repression. Ellison's partner points out a instance of this.

Ellison's partner: Ellison thought I was a undercover cop! and that's what they do to you, you have that little trust cause of the shit they do to you. That sucked for me, but I can't blame him. We had been dating (for) two months. He told me he loved me while he thought I might be a undercover...*they both laughed*.... clearly it all had a fucking effect.

It is important to remember this surveillance is wide spread, and occurs to those in direct and indirect conflict with the state; these stories are not uncommon. Our best tool is to learn from this, to understand the nature of surveillance, to take steps towards being safe. But we also have to remember not to be afraid, we are a threat to the state, that is why they use surveillance and repression against us, because our passion for freedom is stronger than their repression.

Finally, I asked if they would like to talk about the support they had received through these times and if they had suggestions for others on how to deal with future repression:

Carson: I had these sweeping non-associations that made getting support from those I was closest to impossible. So I think the times I didn't feel supported

wasn't cause people dropped the ball but because the court so effectively isolated everyone. That in turn created space for other people to get to know me and step up and created new friendships. I feel like I have awesome relationships with people that hopefully would have happened otherwise, but were facilitated by this all. To make this isolation less traumatic: be prepared to be in jail for a bit, be confident to deal with prison. Know that you have more power in negotiating your conditions than they want you to think. But in turn, be prepared to stay in jail a little longer to negotiate. And have a great surety plan. So yeah, know what you can do and what conditions will prevent you from making valuable use of your time and don't accept less!

Ellison: I felt supported yeah, there was some people who didn't agree with the tactics, but understood what I was going through and supported me as a person. A lot of people were great...in dealing with these charges the only thing I can do to keep composure is to keep cool and not worry too much.

Carson: In communities where there is heightened repression take the initiative but give folks who are on conditions the opportunity to take space from support, but also don't wait for them to reach out for help. Also Be aware there is often a big burst of support and energy that dwindles, think about supporting people in the long term.

This is just a glimpse of the stories of some people who have and continue to face repression after the G20 in Toronto. The effects of multiple attacks that the state has laid against these people is disgusting. It is also important to remember this happens all the time, not just to people we know or struggle with. The court process can have worse effects for those lacking support. Sharing our stories about how the state destroys our ability to live and resist is an important aspect of striving for liberation.

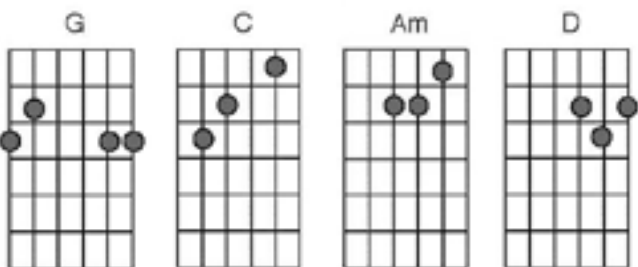
breaks my heart

G
until then keep yer eyes keep yer nose to the ground
Em
they might catch the sight of the light in your eyes and shoot you down
C
and i remember your hair swimming in the breeze
D G
now caught in the grip of some dumb ass police, it breaks my heart

G
they hold your body down boot your head to the ground
Em
wavin' their rifles around, shouting all around
C D
their keepin' you down, they're keepin' us down

G
we might throw a stone so they'd leave them alone
Em
those defending their homes, they'd probably break their bones
C D
and i don't know how to stop this from going down

G
your arms open wide oh they send in a spy
Em
you share what you have, they take what you have
C D
and they take, they take take and they lie
G
and they say they're wondering why



a couple songs

by byron

stupid world

G Am C G
stupid world how'd they all end up inside stupid world
G Am C G
hold them close they're only there for a while so hold them close
G Am C G
give them hope its all they've got for a while so give them hope
G Am C G
sing em a song if you sing from the heart, they'll sing along.

Am G
all they need is some love
Am G
all they need are some words
Am C D (mute)
all this cause they're trying to change the world
G
stupid world

give them some hope it's a strong sustaining force so give them hope
simple words is all it takes to send a smile, send your words
sing em a song, if you shout out from your heart, it'll carry on
keep yourself strong, don't forget to number one, so you keep strong.

all they need is some love
all they need are some words
all this cause they help out this world
stupid world

Earful of Queer Review:

The Passionate Mistakes and Intricate Corruption of One Girl in America

By Michelle Tea

Foreword by Brandon Stosuy

Afterword by Eileen Myles

from *Semiotext(e) Native Agents Series*

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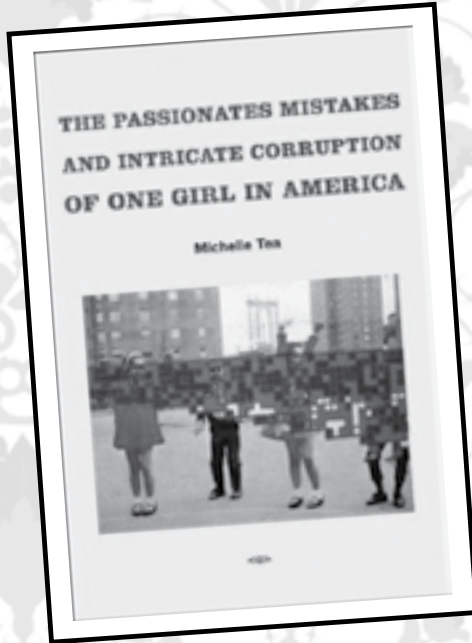
I got *Passionate Mistakes and Intricate Corruption of One Girl in America* a couple months ago and it has been my companion most nights as a place to escape from the world around me. I have really appreciated the space it provides me to jump into someone else's world and experience their problems.

Tea tells the story of growing up a young queer punk in Boston, which brings us all the likely tales of angst, rebellion and jealousy. She writes about coming out, navigating life as a total freak that wants to clash with the world and eventually falling into a relationship which reeks of the worst emotional atrocities I see my friends going through every day. The whole story is woven with anecdotes about sex work, desires for queer sex and rebellion and the not so glitzy and glamour lifestyle of a poor kid growing up, with a big income and no future.

Passionate Mistakes and Intricate Corruption of One Girl in America has been a welcome release from the anarchist theory and politics I previously read before bed. But let's be honest, insurgent writings about the crisis of everyday life doesn't leave me with a clear head before bed.

I really appreciated Teas' writing style. She is capable of sucking me in and leaving me with fading thoughts of her trip to

Provincetown or her hot hook up with the dyke bartender. This was Michelle Teas' first novel, followed by critically acclaimed *Valencia* and the graphic novel about sex work, *Rent Girl*. I know the publisher, *Semiotext(e)* more for their theory than their first person narratives, but I better understand *Semiotext(e)*'s appreciation for writing after seeing the diversity of their books.



BURN PILE

All zines reviewed here can be found at the Arrow Archive zine library in UC 107, which is also the home of GRCGED (Guelph Resource Centre for Gender Empowerment and Diversity). To find these titles in the collection, refer to

the last line of the review (AA location) which will tell you which box to look in to find the zine you are looking for. So stop by and say hello to the folks at GRCGED and check out the zine library. Happy zine reading!



Up The Logic Punks! #1

I was so excited when I found this one. Remember those logic puzzles from grade school? Well some crazy zine-making punk in Massachusetts made up twenty-five anarcho-punk-rawk themed puzzles for us to enjoy. There is an Answer Key in the back for those who lose their way in the punky loony logic. Oh and if you wanna do the puzzles be sure to photocopy the pages, there is only one copy in the Arrow Archive.

Half legal, 32 pages

AA Location: DIY

If Death Comes #2

Todi likes to make zines, travel and write letters. In the intro, Todi says he going to 'just wing it' and throw together a zine, well the end product is fascinating and has great DIY feeling about it. This zine is full of hitchhiking stores and journal entries about working shitty jobs in Halifax.

Half Letter, 40 pages

AA Location: Perzines



Shotgun Seamstress

A rare gem! This is a fucking great zine made by black punks for black punks. There is a lot of material about POC role models within the punk/rock and roll subculture with a focus on female rockers. An interview with Brontez (creator of the zine Fag School) really floated my boat. Completely readable DIY punk zine, yeah!

Half Letter, 28 pages

AA Location: Fanzine: music



YOU'RE GOING TO PRISON.

You could go to prison for something you do, or something you did long ago. You could be framed and go in for something you had nothing to do with. Even if you've never broken a law, you could still go to prison—just reading these words makes you a suspect. The more people spend their lives in slavish obedience, the easier it is for the government to make an example of whomever they choose.

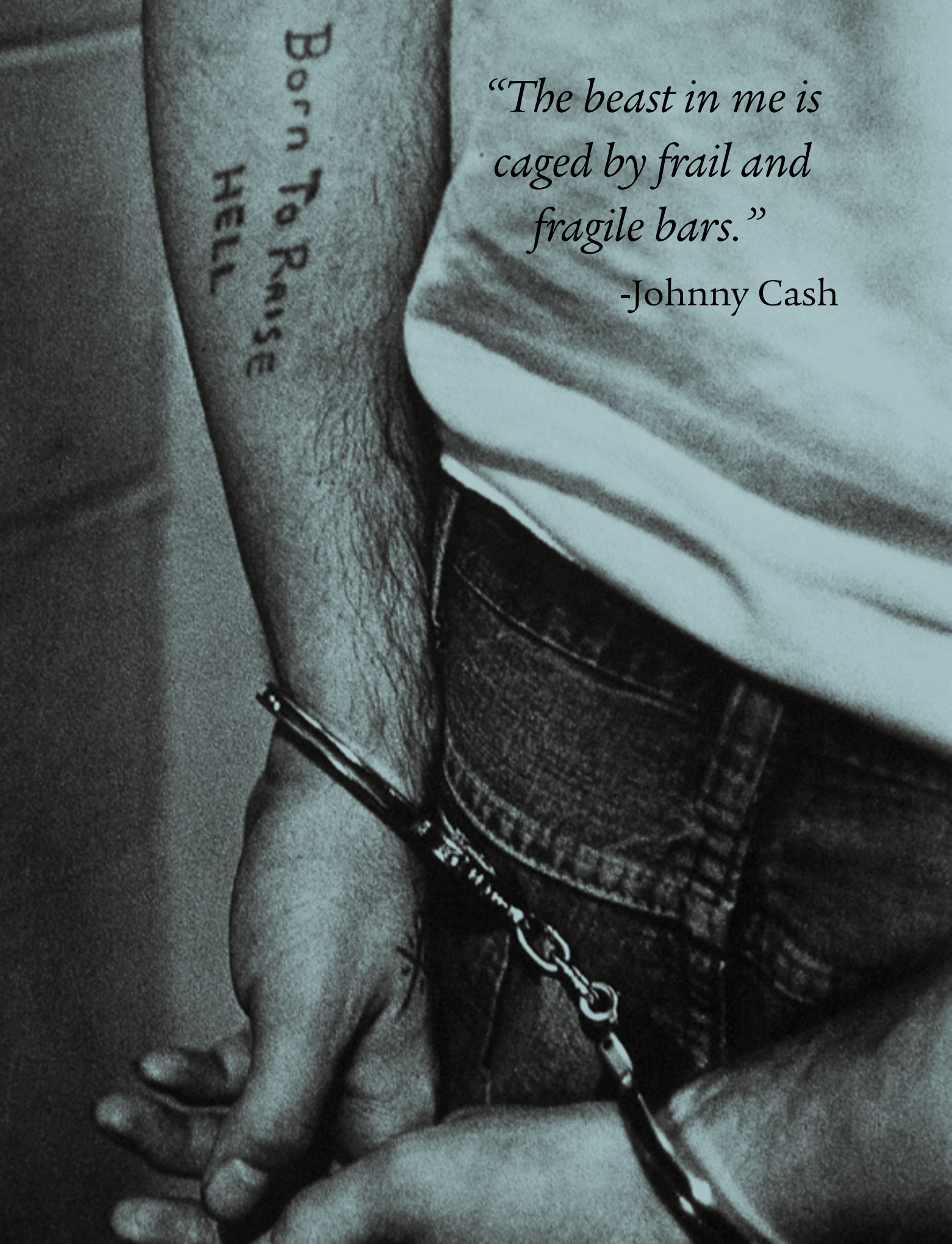
Look at the historical figures you respect—or maybe even your friends. If you follow the same path, chances are you're going to prison too. Come to terms with this. Imagine your time in prison, what you will do, how you will handle it.

You can go with dignity or you can go spinelessly, assisting your enemies and selling out your friends. You can go to prison for something you believe in, or you can go for no reason at all, never having stood up for yourself or anyone else.

You're going to prison. Now that you realize this, you're free. You can go to prison for whatever you want, you can do whatever you believe is right. Hell, if you're careful, you may not go to prison for a long time.

If enough people figure this out, one day there will be no more prisons. As someone who is going to prison, you understand that day can't come soon enough.





*“The beast in me is
caged by frail and
fragile bars.”*

-Johnny Cash